Proceedings of the first three Republican national conventions ...

Horace Greeley

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OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS

OF

1856, 1860, 1864 and 1892.

The Secretary of the late Republican National Convention at Minneapolis was directed to prepare and have published the Proceedings of the first three Republican Conventions, viz.: Of the years **1856**, at Philadelphia; **1860**, at Chicago, and **1864**, at Baltimore. The volume also includes proceedings of the antecedent National Republican Convention held at Pittsburgh in February, 1856, as reported by Horace Greeley, a most valuable reprint, and a sketch of the earliest Republican organization on record.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIRST THREE

Republican National Conventions

OF

1856, 1860 AND 1864,

INCLUDING PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANTECEDENT NATIONAL CONVENTION HELD AT PITTSBURG, IN FEBRUARY, 1856, AS REPORTED BY HORACE GREELEY.

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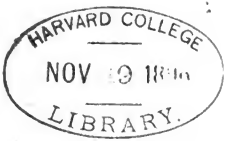

THE PROCEEDINGS.

THESE proceedings are published under the authority of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Convention prepare a full report of the Republican National Conventions of 1856, 1860 and 1864, and cause them to be sold at the cost of printing, and a similiar arrangement shall also be made for the publication of the Proceedings of this Convention.

Adopted June 10, 1892.

CHAS. W JOHNSON,
Secretary.

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THE EARLIEST ORGANIZATION OF RECORD.

Hon. Lewis Clephane, of Washington, D. C., has furnished the compiler with a pamphlet on the "Birth of the Republican Party," in which the claim is broadly made that the initiatory proceedings towards the organization of the Republican party were commenced by the Republican Association of Washington in 1855, and led up to the February convention in Pittsburg in 1856.

The compiler does not assume thus to settle the question of origin, for there are several other claimants in a general way, for the honor; but he submits an abridgment of Mr. Clephane's pamphlet as an introduction to the reports of the conventions that follow, for the very good reason that no other authentic record has been accessible, relative to the inauguration of the great Republican organization which carried the nation through a civil war, and preserved the Union of States, and which has administered the government for the greater part of the last thirty years.

THE WASHINGTON REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION.

On the 19th of June, 1855, a small club was organized in Washington and issued the following as its platform:

DECLARATION, PLATFORM AND CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Whereas, by the repeal of the eighth section of the act for the admission of Missouri into the Union, the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska have been opened to the introduction of slavery, and all the compromises, real or imginary, upon that subject, are thus violated and annulled, and deep dishonor inflicted upon the age in which we live:

Now, therefore, in co-operation with all those throughout the land who oppose this and other similar measures, which we deem to be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, and which are designed to extend and perpetuate slavery, we do associate ourselves together, under the name and title of THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

And we adopt the following as our political Platform, to wit:

FIRST. That Congress possesses no power over the institution of slavery in the several States; but that, outside of State juris-

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diction, the constitutional power of the Federal Government should be exerted to secure LIFE, LIBERTY and HAPPINESS to all men, and therefore,

SECOND. There should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, in any of the Territories of the United States.

THIRD. The people are the rightful source of all political power; and all officers should, as far as practicable, be chosen by a direct vote of the people.

FOURTH. Candidates for political offices should be men of undoubted integrity and sobriety, and pledged to support the principles of this Platform by all lawful and constitutional means.

No president was elected at that meeting, but efforts were made to induce Hon. Francis P. Blair, Sr., to accept the presidency. He declined.

On Jan. 17, 1856, there was published and circulated largely by the Washington Association an appeal to the country to organize clubs, as follows:

A CIRCULAR TO THE FRIENDS OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

REPUBLICAN ROOMS, WASHINGTON, D. C. Jan. 17, 1856.

Dear Sir.—The undersigned have been appointed a committee, on the part of the association, whose declaration, platform and constitution accompany this, to address a circular letter to our Republican friends, urging upon their attention the importance of immediate and thorough organization of clubs or associations, somewhat similar to our own, in every city, town, and village in the Union.

The power and influence of these organizations cannot be overestimated by the friends of freedom. They are all important to carry on a political campaign, and it will be a matter of impossibility to compete with those arrayed against us in the approaching contest without them. They are the most powerful and only efficient means for bringing out, concentrating, and making known our *true* strength. They will serve to rally the people, inspire them with confidence and enthusiasm, and furnish the information necessary to expose and fairly meet the sophistry of pro-slavery demagogues. We have seen the power of these associations fully manifested in recent elections. Let the friends of freedom learn wisdom even from their enemies. We go into the contest as a *new and untried party*, opposing old and well-organized parties sustained and backed by Government patronage or bound together by old party ties. We must compel these parties to show where they stand on the only great issue now before the country—Slavery or Freedom. We must force them to array themselves on one side or the other of this question, and consider every man who is not openly and avowedly on the side of freedom as against it. How, then, is this to be done, unless the friends of freedom are themselves united? And how can they be better and more efficiently united than by these organizations?

Again we recommend prompt organization. If there be but six persons in your town who sympathize with you in this movement, organize with these six. Do not despair. If a Republican Association can be put in successful operation in Washington

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City, under the immediate frown of the National Government, and in a city dedicated to slavery, where is there the city, town, or village, in the North, East, or West, that cannot do likewise?

We appeal, sir, to you, to make this a personal duty—to set about at once bringing the friends of the Republican Movement together, for the purpose of organization on a platform similar to the one which accompanies this, and which you will find so liberal on the slavery question that every man, who is not entirely wedded to slavery and its interests, may stand upon it, without its interfering with any of his former party predilections.

And now, a word as to the association we represent. You will perceive in the 4th and 5th articles of the Constitution its main object. We propose to act in concert with the Republican Members of Congress, and all Associations that may be formed throughout the States, similar to our own, as a "National Committee," for the dissemination of political information among the masses. We have taken a Hall in a central position, established a Reading-room for the benefit of our visiting Republican friends, and have made arrangements for the issue in pamphlet form of all important speeches that may be made during the present Congress. We have also engaged the services of a very competent German translator, with the intention, should the means be afforded, to have many of the speeches translated into the German language.

It must be apparent to you that the comparatively few who compose this Association cannot contribute all the funds necessary to carry on so important a work; nor can the Members of Congress, who always expend large sums in the publication of their speeches, be expected to meet all the demands of a Presidential campaign, however liberally disposed they may be. It is often desirable to distribute hundreds of thousands of copies of a single speech, or other publication, which, of course, cannot be done without considerable expense.

How, then, is this expense to be met, and how are these speeches, &c., to be circulated? Simply through the active exertions of these proposed organizations, in collecting and forwarding funds and names for that purpose. The Administration party are already at work. Every office-holder is regularly *assessed* to meet the expenses of the campaign. We have no such facilities, nor do we desire any such. Our aid must come from the voluntary contributions of the *people*. Will any doubt for a moment the utility of scattering broadcast over our land such documents and speeches as will have a tendency to enlighten the public mind on all those exciting questions which will more or less engross their attention during the approaching important political crisis? We think not.

We have every facility here, through our Republican friends in Congress, of issuing speeches and other documents, at the least possible expense; and by the voluntary labors of the members of the Association in directing, and the co-operation of Members of Congress, we hope to have the people fully supplied with the right kind of political reading matter.

We have therefore to request that, should you organize a Republican Association, or should there be one already in existence in your place, you will urge upon its members the importance of at once collecting funds for the purpose of procuring and disseminating the proper kind of documents among the masses,

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either by your Association or our "National Committee." These speeches and documents can be directed, singly, to such names as you may send us, or they can be put up in packages and sent to any one person (free of postage), to be by him distributed, as may best suit the parties ordering.

We also particularly make the following requests:

1. That the names of the officers of each Association formed be sent us, as speedily after its organization as possible, and, when practicable, the number of its members.

2. That a list be made out, and forwarded, of all persons in your vicinity to whom it may be desirable to forward speeches and other documents—not only friends of the cause, but persons of all parties—and marking, opposite each name on the list so sent, to which of the political parties the individual belongs, that we may send documents adapted to each particular case. These lists will be entered in books to be kept for that purpose by our Association, and suitable documents will from time to time be sent them.

3. Much good might be accomplished by each Association regularly corresponding with the one here, giving information relative to the state of things in their several precincts, or general political intelligence.

In conclusion, and even at the hazard of being considered importunate, let us again urge the importance of an immediate and thorough *Organization*.

Yours truly,

DANIEL R. GOODLOE,
H. S. BROWN,
LEWIS CLEPHANE,
Committee.

☞Address, "L. Clephane, Secretary Republican Association, Washington, D. C."

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THE PITTSBURG CONVENTION.

THE FIRST CALL.

A call for a National Convention was issued January 17, 1856, for a meeting to be held at Pittsburg, Pa., on the 22d day of February, 1856.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 17, 1856.

To the Republicans of the United States:

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican Party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, chairmen of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal Convention at Pittsburg, on the 22d February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National Organization, and providing for a National Delegate Convention of the Republican Party, at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

A. P. STONE, of Ohio.
J. Z. GOODRICH, of Mass.
DAVID WILMOT, of Pa.
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, of Vt.
WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Wis.

Pursuant to this call the Pittsburg Convention assembled.

On the evening of February 21st an informal meeting of delegates to the Convention was held in the parlors of the Monongahela Hotel, Pittsburg, for the purpose of a preliminary arrangement of the Convention. After consultation, it was decided to select one man from each state, and request them to meet at 8 o'clock next morning.

After some difficulty the following gentlemen were gathered together: Owen Lovejoy, of Ill.; Hon. William Dennison, of Ohio; Edward D. Morgan, of New York; Geo. K. S. Bingham, of Michigan; J. W. Stone, of Boston, C. M. K. Puleston, of New Jersey, and Lewis Clephane, of Washington. At that meeting a plan for the organization of the Convention, including the selection of Hon. Francis P. Blair, Sr., for president of the convention was adopted, and Owen Lovejoy was selected to open the Convention with prayer.

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HORACE GREELEY'S DAILY AND MAIL REPORT TO THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

(Compiled from files of the New York *Tribune*, by courtesy of Hon. WHITELAW REID.)

THE LATEST NEWS RECEIVED BY MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH.

PITTSBURG, Thursday, Feb. 21, 1856.

The Republican Convention tomorrow will be far more numerously attended than was anticipated. Delegates from twelve states and the Territory of Minnesota are already here with Mr. Wood, from Kansas. There is a free conference this evening. Francis P. Blair will probably be president. Joshua R. Giddings and Wm. Allison are the only Members of Congress I have yet seen, but there are many ex-Members. Maryland and Kentucky are the only Slave States as yet represented, but a Delegate from Missouri is expected. Nineteen Delegates from New York, including all who left the City yesterday morning, are present. The general desire is to act firmly, but prudently. H. G.

SECOND DISPATCH, 10 P. M.

An informal preliminary meeting of Republican Delegates has been held this evening and largely attended. Lieutenant-Gov. Bingham, of Michigan, presided. Mr. Wood, of Kansas, was among the speakers. A meeting of Republican editors is now assembling at the St. Charles. The Convention will organize at ten to-morrow morning. H. G.

To the Associated Press:

A large number of the Delegates to the Republican Convention arrived here to-day and among them are Joshua R. Giddings and D. F. Kimball, of Ohio, Gov. Bingham, of Michigan, and Horace Greeley, of New York.

The convention will be one of the most important ever held here.

An informal meeting of delegates takes place this evening to arrange preliminaries.

THE LATEST NEWS RECEIVED BY MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH.

The Republican Convention Editorial Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

FIRST DAY,

PITTSBURG, Friday, Feb. 22.

The Republican Convention is very numerously attended, all the Free States being represented, with citizens of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Kentucky and Missouri. John A. King was elected President pro tem. Francis P. Blair is permanent President. There were brief speeches this morning by Messrs. Greeley, Giddings, Gibson, of Ohio, Codding and Lovejoy, of Illinois, and others. A strong Committee on Address and Resolution was appointed. More delegates are announced by telegraph as on the way. All is enthusiasm and harmony. H. G.

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SECOND DISPATCH.

The Republican Convention has completed its first day's session, and has accomplished much to cement former political differences and distinctions and here to mark the inauguration of a National party, based upon the principles of Freedom. The gathering is very large and the enthusiasm unbounded. Men are acting in the most perfect harmony and with a unity of feeling seldom known to political assemblages of this magnitude. The body is eminently Republican in principle and tendency. It combines much of character and talent, with integrity of purpose and devotion to the great principles which underlie our Government. Its moral and political effect upon the country will be felt for the next quarter of a century. In its deliberations everything has been conducted with marked propriety and dignity. The appointment of the Hon. F. P. Blair as President was hailed with unbounded enthusiasm.

The scene which followed was exciting beyond description. Cheers went forth and handkerchiefs were waved for some minutes after he took his seat as presiding officer. The great Hall has been crowded throughout the day and during the evening. Hundreds went away because it was not possible to gain admittance. The day has been principally occupied by the Committees in preparing their reports and by the Delegates in Committee of the Whole in listening to speeches from eminent gentlemen who represent the several States. Among the most effective speeches of the occasion is one made by Mr. Remline, of Cincinati. It was pointed and eloquent and was received with much applause. The speaker has until recently been a supporter of the Administration. He is now thoroughly Republican. The Committee on Address will not report until to-morrow morning. The business of perfecting a National organization will come up to-morrow forenoon. Adjourned. H. G.

SECOND DAY.

PITTSBURG, Saturday, Feb. 23, 1856.

The Convention met at 9 o'clock. In the absence of the President, who was in attendance at a meeting of the Committe on Address and Resolutions, Mr. Sherman, of New Jersey, took the chair at the opening of the session. A great part of the morning was spent in speaking. Mr. Arney, of Illinois, stated that as the various committees were not ready to report, the time of the Convention might be occupied by addresses, and he moved that one delegate from each state represented be invited to speak, each one being limited to ten minutes. The motion was adopted, and Mr. Stone, of Massachusetts, presented the condition of parties in that state, affirming that the number of Republicans was increasing. Mr. Bunce, of Connecticut, said there was no Republican party in that state, but he hoped that there soon would be. He pledged Connecticut for them at the coming Presidential election. Mr. Burrough, of New York, noticed the gentlemen had been

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speaking for several states. He had but a short history to relate. He (Bunce) had said all we had to do was to go home and enjoy victory. He (Borrough) wished it was so in New York. We have many organizations embittered against us to overcome before we can succeed. To be successful we must exercise prudence. It is easy to make a small party on the Slavery question. To do this we can purchase Gerrett Smith's patent right; but to establish a large party, we must make concession. He thought a large portion of the American party could be brought over to their cause. Mr. Clephane, of the District of Columbia, spoke commendingly of the efforts of the Washington Republican Association. Gov. Bingham, of Michigan, read a long letter from Cassius M. Clay to the Washington Association commending the Republicans present.

Dr. Gazzam, of Pittsburgh, spoke briefly of the progress of Anti-Slavery in this quarter. He invited the Members of the Convention to attend the Kansas Aid meeting to-night.

The Committee on Organization, through their Chairman, Mr. Julian, of Indiana, made a report. It recommended the following National Executive Committee:

Morgan, of New York, Chairman; Fogg, of New Hampshire; Banks, of Massachusetts; Brainard, of Vermont; Niles, of Connecticut; Chase, of Rhode Island; Stone, of Ohio; Leland, of Illinois; Spooner, of Wisconsin; Clephane, of District of Columbia; Paulison, of New Jersey; ————, of Delaware; Wilmot, of Pennsylvania; Blair, of Missouri; Field, of Kentucky; Stephens, of Iowa; Gross, of Indiana; Dickie, of Michigan; ————, of Virginia; Blair, of Mary and.

The report further recommended that the National Executive Committee be authorized to add to their number one Member from each state not represented, and to fill vacancies; also the holding of the National Convention for the nomination of President and Vice-President at Philadelphia, on the 17th of June, to consist of Delegates from each state double the number of their representation in Congress, and that the Republicans of each state be recommended to complete their organization at the earliest moment, by the appointment of State and County Committees, and the formation of clubs in every town and township throughout the land. The Committee on Address and Resolution reported, through their Chairman, Abijah Mann, of New York. The Address commences by expressing unalterable attachment to the Union, and a determination to preserve it; at the same time it recommends all true Republicans to oppose further extension of Slavery. It should be kept where it now exists.

A history of the various acts of the General Government regarding Slavery was given, and an account of the recent doings

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in Kansas. Congress has a constitutional right to exclude Slavery from territories. It has no right to confer popular soverignty on Kansas and Nebraska, thus giving away its own authority over territories. The Address calls upon all Republicans to support the Constitution against the assaults of its enemies, and recommends energetic measures for the election of candidates for the Presidential Convention.

The resolutions are in substance as follows:

First. Demands repeal of all laws allowing the introduction of Slavery into Territories once consecrated to Freedom, and the resistance by constitutional means of the existence of Slavery in any Territory.

Second. Support by all lawful measures the Free-State men in Kansas in their resistance to the usurped authority of lawless invaders, and favors its immediate admission into the Union as a Free State.

Third. Strongly urges the Republican Organization to resist and overthrow the present National Administration, as it is identified with the progress of the Slave power to national supremacy.

On motion of Mr. Spaulding, of Ohio, the address and resolutions were adopted with nine cheers.

[Mr. Remelin, of Ohio, said the address should have taken ground against the Know-Nothing, in order to bring in the German population.]

Mr. Bond, of South Carolina, moved that a Committee of Safety be appointed to meet any emergency that may arise in case of conflict in Kansas with the Federal troops.

A motion that the proceedings be printed in pamphlet form, and circulated, was adopted. Thanks to the officers of the Convention and the citizens of Pittsburg were voted and the Convention adjourned.

Sine die

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REPUBLICAN MASS MEETING.

PITTSBURG, Saturday, Feb. 23, 1856.

A large mass meeting was held here to-night to aid the emigration to Kansas, of those who feel determined to use every means to secure the establishment there of a Free State, and to aid such of the present inhabitants of Kansas as have declared themselves against what is termed lawless aggression and unconstitutional coercion. George W. Jackson was the President of the meeting, and D. D. Eaton Secretary. The proceedings of a former meeting were read and approved and a constitution adopted.

Horace Greeley addressed the meeting. He recounted the difficulties which sorrounded settlers in Kansas and said that we must do all we can for them. He hoped they would be so well armed there, that no fighting would be necessary. There was no fear of the Kansas Free settlers being the aggressors. He recommended those who wish to hew out an honest competency to go and settle in Kansas, assuring them that it was destined to be a Free State.

The Hon. Geo. Darsie and Wm. E. Stevenson were then appointed to receive subscriptions.

Mr. Wood, from Kansas, was called to the stand. He said he rejoiced at this demonstration to-night. It proved that the young sister "Kansas," was not forgotten. He had resided in Kansas for eighteen months and had within that period seen armed hordes of Missourians—ten thousand of them headed by prominent men of the United States, such as Colonel Doniphan, Colonel Young, Vice-President Atchison, and others. He concluded by telling many anecdotes of the bravery of the men and women of Kansas.

Mr. Redpath, of Missouri, followed, and in a short speech denied the assumption that the mass of the people of Missouri were parties to the outrages in Kansas.

Mr. Bailey, of Kentucky, was called for, but declined making a speech, when Mr. Sinclair, of Michigan, took the stand and made a few remarks.

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He was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Chandler who said he believed with Mr. Greeley, that Sharp's rifles were very great peacemakers, and that there was not much danger of introducing too many into Kansas. Although I am cowardly as to my person, yet if pent up in Kansas, I believe I would feel inclined to be shot rather than to swear to support their laws. I never saw so much insult in any document as in the proclamation of President Pierce. But the President did not write that document. Caleb Cushing wrote it, for no other man in the nation could embody so many lies in the same space. Should a drop of blood be spilled in the pursuance of that proclamation, the Administration would be politically buried beyond the power of resuscitaion. The people of Kansas needed aid, and needed it now, or never. He had fearful forebodings as to the future conditions of the citizens of Kansas. He (Chandler) had seen over half a century of years, but he was ready, should it come to the worst, to doff his black cloak, don a laced one, and battle in their behalf.

Mr. Newson, of Minnesota, followed. He said Minnesota had earnestly been waiting to see if an outbreak would occur in Kansas. If it did, Minnesota would do good work in the cause of Freedom. He (the speaker) was ready to volunteer to fight against the oppressors of Freedom in Kansas.

Mr. Ashley, of Virginia, next made a short speech, in which he stated he was in favor of the plan published in *The National Era* for the settlement of Kansas.

Adjourned.

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THE CALL FOR THE NOMINATING CONVENTION.

The Convention appointed an Executive Committee to call a convention for the nominating of candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

The Committee met in Washington on March 27, 1856, for that purpose; and so important was the wording of that call regarded, so as to offend no one and draw in from the ranks of all parties, that two days were spent in session at Willard's Hotel in preparing the call for the nominating convention. The call was as follows:

To the People of the United States:

The People of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of Slavery into the Territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, are invited by the National Committee, appointed by the Pittsburg Convention of the 22d February, 1856, to send from each State three delegates from every Congressional District, and six delegates at large, to meet in PHILADELPHIA, *on the seventeenth day of June next*, for the purpose of recommending candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

E. D. MORGAN, New York,
FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Maryland,
JOHN M. NILES, Connecticut,
DAVID WILMOT, Pennsylvania,
A. P. STONE, Ohio,
WILLIAM M. CHASE, Rhode Island,
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts,
GEORGE RYE, Virginia,
ABNER R. HALLOWELL, Maine,
E. S. LELAND, Illinois,
CHARLES DICKIE, Michigan,
GEORGE G. FOGG, Newhampshire,
A. J. STEVENS, Iowa,
CORNELIUS COLE, California,
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vermont,
WILLIAM GROSE, Indiana,
WYMAN SPOONER, Wisconsin,
C. M. K. PAULISON, New Jersey,
E. D. Williams, Delaware,
JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky,
JAMES REDPATH, Missouri,
LEWIS CLEPHANE, Dist. of Columbia.

National Committee.

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1856.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17th, 18th AND 19th, 1856.

The delegates elected to the Convention, pursuant to the call of the National Committee appointed by the Republican National Convention, held at Pittsburg on the 22d of February, 1856, assembled at the Musical Fund Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on Tuesday, 17th June, 1856, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

The assemblage was called to order by the Hon. Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and addressed by him as follows:

Delegates of the Convention, Representatives of the Heart and the Hope of the Nation: The day and the hour appointed for this gathering have arrived; and in behalf of my associates of the National Committee, I now call this vast assemblage to order, in doing which I may be indulged for a moment. You are assembled for patriotic purposes. High expectations are cherished by the people. You are here to-day to give direction to a movement which is to decide whether the people of the United States are to be hereafter and forever chained to the present national policy of the extension of human slavery. Not whether the South is to rule, or the North to do the same thing; but whether the broad, national policy our fathers established, cherished and forever maintained, is to be permitted to descend to her sons, to be the watchword, the text and the guiding star of all her people. Such is the magnitude of the question submitted. In its consideration, let us avoid all extremes—plant ourselves firmly on the Platform of the Constitution and the Union, taking no position which does not commend itself to the judgment of our conciences, our country, and of mankind. Of the wisdom of such a policy, there need be no doubt; against which there can be no successful resistance. I now propose to nominate for temporary chairman of this Convention, a distinguished citizen of the State of New York, whose name occupies a high position in the history of his country, known and honored throughout the United States. I nominate the Hon. Robert Emmet. [Tumultuous cheering.]

The question being taken on the nomination of the Hon. Robert Emmet, of New York, for temporary President of the Convention, was responded to by an unanimous "aye;" and Mr. Morgan assigned Moses H. Grinnell, of New York, and George Hoadley, Jr., of Ohio, to conduct the temporary President to the chair.

Mr. Emmet was conducted to the chair amid the most tumultuous applause, and addressed the Convention as follows:

SPEECH OF JUDGE EMMET.

Gentlemen, Delegates to the Republican Convention: I feel deeply the honor which you have just conferred upon me, and I

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return you my sincere thanks for it. Certainly it is owing to no merit of mine that I have been singled out for this compliment. Nothing beyond the zeal which I feel in the common cause that has brought us here together could possibly entitle me to it. [Cheers.] And in that respect I claim not to be behind any one of you. [Renewed cheers.] I can say that my antecedents have been all Democratic. [Cheers.] For fifty years I can consider that I have been allied to that party, until that party left the only platform upon which I could remain with it. [Loud cheers.] Fellow citizens, the formation of a new party in a republic like ours, after an existence of eighty years, is a singular event in history, and one that, perhaps, will require explanation at the hands of the historian. It is one, however, that can only be justified by strong and irresistible causes; and the question here is, whether we, in organizing this new Republican party in this country, at this late day, are justified by the causes which have induced us to form that organization. In the early days of this republic, when our government was founded, perhaps things were as favorable as now for the accomplishment of such an object, and even more so than ever existed in any part of the world, in any stage of its history. But there was one unfortunate element that created a difficulty, and that has been the cause and the source of our trouble from that time down to the present. It was early seen by the great men of that day, that it was necessary to make some provision to prevent that cause of trouble to which I have alluded, and which I will now name out, viz.: Southern slavery [cheers] from becoming a cause of still greater evils to the country. Without exception, all the great men of that day foresaw and predicted that slavery, although it could not be summarily and suddenly abolished, would die out in this country. All acknowledged that it was an evil. All acknowledged that it was the policy of the country gradually to get rid of it. That was the policy of that day. That policy led to the adoption of what was called the Missouri Compromise. Fellow citizens, I feel that it is out of place in me or in any delegate occupying the situation of temporary chairman here, to enter largely into these matters, because we are now in a process of transition to a state of organization, and it is not perhaps properly in place for me to go into a full statement of all the matters which are to be the subject of discussion here, and therefore I shall endeavor to be as brief as possible, and I beg your forbearance if I make any mistake in that respect, and that you will pass over any errors which I may commit in going beyond the line which properly ought to be prescribed to me in my present position. [Cheers.] I say that the Missouri Compromise was adopted in 1820 as the only measure that could give peace to this country. Slavery was here. It existed in the Southern States. It was not the wish either of the South or the North at that time that it should come into the free States, that it should come further than where it was. Now, I grant that if possibly all were slaveholding—if there was no such element of discord—if there was no antagonism between slavery and freedom in this country, it might be a paradise—it might be a paradise with all slaveholding States, though not such a paradise as I would like to live in [cheers]; but, in its way, the elements of discord would not exist there. That, however, was not possible. Freedom, fortunately, had the larger share here, and Freedom would never permit Slavery to absorb her up, and to engross the whole of this fair territory. [Cheers.] What was to be done, then?

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We could not make all the Southern States free at once. We had then to draw a line; and let it be understood that it was by that line—the Missouri Compromise—slavery was to be limited, and that it should never extend north of it. Well, gentlemen delegates, that compromise was respected, honored, lauded, upheld by all the people of this country until, unfortunately, a demagogue found his way into her councils, [loud applause,] who undertook to break down that solid compact, entered into between the States of this Union, for purposes intended to prevent the very consequences which have followed from its repeal. Why, gentlemen, the incursion into Kansas was the logical result and effect of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. What else could have been expected? [Cheers.] All the horrors that have aroused this country, as they have existed in Kansas since the irruption of the Missouri borderers there, may be traced directly and logically to that act. We are now met, then, for the purpose of resisting, and, if possible, of subduing the power and influence of the administration and the party to whom we are indebted for all those evils. [Loud cheers.] They have met at Cincinnati; they have been beforehand with us. The great Democratic party of this country —a name which, independent of the late acts of the party, I have always honored and have always looked up to till I ceased to belong to it—that great party calling itself the Democratic Party, has met and adopted their platform. And a worse platform for a Democratic platform I never read. [Loud cheers and laughter.] They repeat the cant about squatter sovereignty. Squatter sovereignty! what is it? Is it the popular will? If it is, it is a political syllogism. It is the popular will that must govern everything in this country. But the popular will might be exercised by the people when they are in a state of organization to do it. That is the meaning of the "exercise of the popular will." But squatter sovereignty, as applied to a Territory, is a fallacy, a delusion, and a snare. It was the extension of the great principle of "popular will" through this quaint idea of squatter sovereignty for the purpose of making it applicable to the condition of the Territory, and for the purpose of enabling, through that delusion, the quasi-squatters from Missouri, who came in there with their bowie-knives and revolvers, to control the elections, to say, "We are for the time being the sovereigns, and will not only control the elections, but we will make laws, bloody in their character, like the laws of Draco, to rule this Territory for ever. [Loud cheering.] Well, they adopted that platform, and they nominated as their candidate, James Buchanan. Now, gentlemen, I have known Hon. James Buchanan for forty years and upwards, intimately; and I say here, that some of the dearest and most cherished recollections of my life are connected with my associations with him. I would defend his personal character if assailed. But his political character—if I were not in deadly hostility to that, I would not be here. [Loud cheers.] I do not complain of Mr. Buchanan because he has been a politician by profession from the time he became a man. There is nothing dishonorable in a man's being a politician by profession—I do not say "by trade." [Laughter and applause.] And although he is already in the field, I do not blame him for having been a Federalist once. [Renewed cheering.] And for having said in the enthusiasm of the moment (he was a young man at the time), that if he thought

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he had one drop of Democratic blood in his veins, he would let it out. [Laughter and cheers.] That would do exceedingly for a Fourth of July oration to an audience assembled like that, and at that time. But I do blame him in that, after he had expressed his opinion in regard to the Missouri Compromise, after he had bowed in adhesion to it, as every patriot of the day did, yet when he found certain men of his party breaking down that fabric of liberty, he had not strength enough to resist. I blame the Hon. James Buchanan for having shown a want of firmness, a want of self-reliance, a want of adhesion to principle, and an over-zealous devotion to party in several acts of his life. And I take his very last act: his adhesion to this spurious platform of Democracy at Cincinnati. I ask no more than the very words in which he has sent in that adhesion, or in which he has expressed it, in his answer to the committee who waited upon him at Wheatland. He acklowledges that he is no longer James Buchanan, a free agent, with the right of expressing whatever will or opinion he may have of his own; but that he is bound to that platform, and to every plank of it, and that he has no right or power to remove or alter one plank of it—an admission that he has allowed himself to be chained to the Juggernaut of Slavery, and that he allows himself to be dragged headlong by it. [Loud cheers.] I make all allowance, fellow citizens, for the impossibility of a man in this country, who is a politician, who is a party man, of his having his own will, and carrying it out in all respects. It is, I allow, impossible. The very theory of our popular Government, by party, is the concession of the minority to the majority. Every man must concede something. No man can have everything in the arrangement of public affairs precisely as he would wish. But I do not understand how a man should, after the lapse of two or three years, make such a complete summer-set as my friend James Buchanan did on the subject of the Missouri Compromise, and tumble himself headforemost into the Cincinnati platform with as little scruple as he did. [Cheers.] Fellow citizens, I am afraid I am tiring you with this discursive ramble. [Loud cheers, and cries of "Go on! go on!"] I came here because my duty required me to come. My conscience told me that if I was able to get to Philadelphia I was bound to be here. [Cheers.] I appreciated the honor that was conferred upon me in being nominated a delegate, and I do now say, we being all assembled here, that no man in any country can boast at this moment of a higher position, or one more dignified, than that of a delegate holding a seat in this Convention. [Loud cheers.] We are here for noble and high and holy purposes. They may laugh at us. They may call us Black Republicans and Negro-Worshippers. Why, if they were not traitors and buffoons, they would find something better than that to apply to us. [Cheers and shouts of "That's it!"] They may say that we mean to concentrate and gather under our wings all the odds and ends of parties—all the isms of the day. Be it so. Let them come to us with all their isms. We will merge them all in that great ism, patriotism. [Rapturous and prolonged cheering.] How can it be otherwise than that the Republican Party, represented here as it is, should combine in itself elements from the other parties that have existed in this country? How can it be otherwise? I ask. We find a large number of Democrats here who have woke up, like myself, on the subject. [Cheers.] In 1848 I was simple enough to believe that some of the Democratic

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Party in the State of New York—some of the shining lights—some of the leading powers of the party, were going to lead us on to that point of perfection in politics that we always hope to attain—that they formed a party that we could follow conscientiously. Well, we had a platform at Buffalo. I gave in my adhesion to it, and I confess I have seen no reason to change the grounds on which I gave that adhesion, from that day to this. [Cheers.] I was content to be called a Free-Soiler then. I am content to be called a Free-Soiler now. [Cheers.] Nay, more, fellow citizens, I am proud of it. [Renewed cheers.] And if there was not another single man in the community, over all the broad expanse of the country, who would avow himself a Free-Soiler, I would do it, and will do it to the day of my death. [Tremendous cheering.] I despise nick-names in politics. You call a man an Abolitionist. For what? Because he thinks that slavery should be abolished? No, certainly not, for he will say he himself thinks it ought to be abolished. What, then, do you mean by an abolitionist? Oh, a political abolitionist? [Cheers and laughter.] And that is the way a nick-name is conferred. Now, I say this boldly, and I have no doubt that the hearts of my hearers at this moment respond to it; there is not a man—an honest man, who understands his own rights, and the rights of others—who respects the immortal Declaration of Independence—who does not hope to see the day—not a hope perhaps which can be realized within the time allotted to any of us—but hopes to see the day, when such a thing as human bondage shall not exist in the world. [Vehement and long-continued cheering.] That is an honest abolitionist. [Renewed cheers.] That is the abolitionism which I avow, and which I am not ashamed to avow. [Loud cheers.] I trust that day will come. I am not for convulsing our country with efforts to force it—to forestall it. Let God in his good providence bring it when it is right and proper that it should come. In the meantime, are we to suffer from the existence of this evil? Are we to be paralyzed in our Free States here by those Slaveholders wielding all the power in the country, filling up every office, sending in their man invariably for President, making their men our Judges, sending their nominees away as our foreign Ministers, and, when we remonstrate, telling us, "Yes, doughfaces, we are doing that; we will do that; we intend, if you rebel, to subdue you—to crush you out!" [Cheers.] Men of the East, to you this taunt has been particularly directed; to you has this threat been made. I ask you—you who represent the blood that was shed at Lexington, at Dorchester Heights, and at Concord—are you prepared to submit to such a taunt as that? [Loud shouts of "No! no!"] To such an insult? [Reiterated shouts of "No! no!"] To such a slur upon your political energy? [Continued cries of "No!"] No, I am sure you are not. But, fellow citizens, let us not get excited upon this point. [Laughter.] We come to treat Slavery not as a moral question. And let me be understood as emphatically suggesting the propriety of keeping up that distinction. Slavery is, so far as our functions are concerned with it, a political evil; and we do not come here to discuss whether, according to the great abstract principles of right and wrong, the laws of God and the behests of the Bible, Slavery be right or wrong. Whether it be moral or immoral, it exists here among us, and we must manage it as well as we can. We must repress it. We must prevent it from being, as its nature always urges it to be, aggressive. [Loud

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cheers.] We must keep it back. If we cannot restore the Missouri Compromise line by an act as solemn, and a great deal more honest as an act of legislation than the act by which it was repealed, we must find some way to do it. At this moment, the fires of civil discord are raging in Kansas. At this moment, that doomed portion of our Territory is suffering all the consequences from that act. Would to God that we had the power of enabling them by a more summary process than the election of a President to get rid of their present evils! [Loud cheers.] And I am not without hope, fellow citizens, that that process is going on even now, [cheers,] and that we will get cheering news from Kansas yet. In the meantime, let us proceed, great party as we are, constitutionally. Let us proceed to nominate a man as our candidate for the office of President, and in doing that let us observe what I have already alluded to. Each man cannot have his favorite. We come here to make concessions. We come here to act in harmony. We come here to act unanimously in the cause, as I hope and trust we will. [Cheers.] And although it is natural and it is proper that there should be preference for particular men, preference for a man is not the true principle upon which we should act in this Convention.

A voice—"That's it," and cheers.

We all agree in principle. Our object is victory, and it is a legitimate object. It is one which will redound with benefit to the country; at least we think so. If we succeed in defeating the nomination of the Democratic party and electing our President, it would take infinitely more words than I could bestow on it, and more than you, perhaps, would be willing to spend in listening to it, to enumerate all the blessings that would flow from it. All agreeing in principle, then, and all having one high, noble, patriotic purpose in view, I invoke and call upon the members of this Convention not to let their personal predilections for one candidate more than another interfere with an exercise of the general will of the Convention, founded upon the best information we have, founded upon the best lights that can shine upon us at present in regard to the availability of the man who is to lead us to victory. [Cheers.] Let us, then, fellow citizens, proceed to the good work; and I trust that the result will be that we will strangle this hydra of the Union which is now menacing our liberty and our peace; that we will extirpate this canker that is eating our very vitals, and extinguish the smouldering fire of treason and disunion that is under our feet at this moment, and which may burst forth in an instant and swallow up all the fair liberties which have been our boast and pride since the establishment of this Republic. [Cheers.] We are met here to avert and to prevent those consequences. We have a high duty to perform, and I am sure that at the close of this Convention the people will say with one acclaim, "Well done, good and faithful servants." [Voiceferous and prolonged cheering.]

When the applause which followed the conclusion of Mr. Emmet's address had subsided—

On motion—

Mr. George G. Fogg, of New Hampshire, and Mr. Thomas G. Mitchell, of Ohio, were appointed temporary secretaries of the Convention.

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The Rev. Albert Branes, of Philadelphia, by request, invoked the Divine blessing upon the assemblage and its proceedings.

Mr. A. P. Stone, of Ohio, offered the following resolution:

Resolved: That a committee, consisting of one delegate from each State and Territory represented in this Convention, be selected by the delegates thereof, who shall act as Committee on Credentials, Rules and Appointment, and report the number, names and post office address of each delegate, together with rules for the government of the Convention.

The question being taken on the resolution, the same was unanimously adopted; and on calling the roll of the States and Territories, the following gentlemen were announced by the Chairmen of the several State delegations, as members from the States respectively.

THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS, ETC.

Maine, Mark H. Dunnell; New Hampshire, William M. Weed; Vermont, David E. Nicholson; Massachusetts, Simon Brown; Rhode Island, Edward Harris; Connecticut, Charles L. English; New York, Elbridge G. Spaulding; New Jersey, Dudley S. Gregory; Pennsylvania, S. Steele Blair; Delaware, Lewis Thompson; Maryland, Elias Hawley; Kentucky, James R. Whittemore; Ohio, L. B. Gunckel; Indiana, Charles H. Test; Illinois, I. D. Arnold; Michigan, George A. Coe; Iowa, J. W. Sherman; Wisconsin, L. P. Harvey; California, Charles A. Washburn; Kansas, S. N. Wood; Minnesota, John B. Phillips; District of Columbia, B. B. French.

Hon. Daniel Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved: That a committee of one from each State and Territory represented be appointed to prepare and report for the action of the Convention a platform of principles to be submitted to the people of the United States; that the member from each State be named by the delegates thereof; and that all resolutions or papers offered in Convention in relation to such platform be referred to the committee thus appointed, without debate.

Resolved: That the said committee be requested to report at the earliest practicable moment, and that no ballot be taken for President or Vice-President until after the Platform is reported and adopted by the Convention.

Mr. John Bigelow, of New York, suggested that action upon these resolutions ought properly to be deferred until after the report of the Committee on Credentials had been brought in and acted upon.

Mr. J. M. Ashley, of Ohio, said that the seats of none of the members appearing as delegates to this Convention were contested. The Convention was harmonious. He urged immediate action upon the resolutions.

A motion to amend the first resolution, so as to provide for two members of the committee from each state, instead of one, was put and lost.

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Mr. B. B. French, of the District of Columbia, offered an amendment to the first resolution, to the effect, that the same should provide for one member of the committee "from each State and Territory represented, instead of from each State," which amendment was accepted by the mover of the resolutions; and the question being taken on the resolutions, as amended and above recited, the same were unanimously adopted.

On calling the roll of the States and Territories, the following gentlemen were announced as selected to constitute

THE COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM:

Maine, Henry Carter; New Hampshire, Daniel Clark; Massachusetts, E. Rockwood Hoar; Connecticut, Thaddeus Welles; Rhode Island, Thomas Davis; Vermont, Edward Kirkland; New York, Preston King [great applause]; New Jersey, Edward W. Whelply; Delaware, Edward G. Bradford; Maryland, Francis P. Blair; Pennsylvania, David Wilmot [applause]; Ohio, Joshua R. Giddings [loud applause]; Michigan, Isaac P. Christiancy; Wisconsin, John F. Potter; Indiana, John D. Defrees; Illinois, George T. Brown; Iowa, James B. Howell; California, John A. Wills; Kansas, J. M. Winchell; District of Columbia, Jacob Bigelow; Kentucky, George D. Blakely; Minnesota, Alexander Ramsey.

Mr. F. D. Kimball, of Ohio, offered the following resolution:

Resolved: That a committee of one from each State and Territory represented be selected by the several delegations to report officers to this Convention for its permanent organization.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, and, on calling the roll, the following named gentlemen were announced as selected to compose the

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Maine, George M. Weston; New Hampshire, Levi Chamberlin; Massachusetts, George R. Russell; Connecticut, Charles Adams; Rhode Island, William Hoppin; Vermont, Ryland Fletcher; New York, George W. Patterson; New Jersey, William D. Waterman; Delaware, Thomas Walters; Maryland, Elias Hawley; Pennsylvania, Samuel A. Purviance; Ohio, George Hoadley, Jr.; Michigan, Thomas J. Drake; Wisconsin, M. M. Davis; Indiana, D. G. Rose; Illinois, Cyrus Aldrich; Iowa, R. L. B. Clark; Kansas, Charles H. Branscomb, Kentucky, John Rimell; California, George W. Read; District of Columbia, Lewis Clephane; Minnesota, John B. Phillips.

Mr. John G. Bergen, of New York, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That the daily meetings of this Convention be opened with prayer, and that the officers of the Convention make the necessary arrangements to that effect by invitations to the clergymen of the city.

Dr. George Harris, of Maryland, offered the following resolution:

Resolved: That a committee of one from each State and Territory represented in this Convention be appointed by the several delegations respectively to report the name of one person from

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each State and Territory to constitute the Republican National Committee for the ensuing four years—such committee, when appointed, to elect their own chairman.

On taking the question, this resolution was adopted.

On motion, the selection of the committee provided for by the resolution was deferred until to-morrow morning.

General John J. Viele, of New York, offered the following resolution:

Resolved: That the gentlemen in attendance upon this Convention, representing the radical Free-Soil Democracy of New York, be invited to take seats as honorary members of this Convention.

Gen. Viele said that there was a delegation here from the Council of One Hundred of radical Democrats of New York, who had seceded from the Democratic party in that State. They were the friends of Silas Wright. [Cheers.] They are the men who can trace their Democratic pedigree to Tompkins and Clinton; but notwithstanding that, they cannot and will not consent to be harnessed to the car, nor be dragged behind the Juggernaut of slavery. [Great applause.] I move. sir, that in compliment to that body of men, who, in 1848, rolled up a Free-Soil vote of 121,000, these representatives be invited to take seats here as honorary members. [Applause.]

Hon. John Allison, of Pennsylvania, said there was present in the city a large number of delegates to the Pennsylvania Republican State Convention, who were awaiting the action of the Convention, and he hoped they would be admitted to seats in the hall.

The New Hampshire and other delegations declared their willingness to give up their seats, or hold those who wished to be admitted in their laps, rather than that they should be excluded.

Judge Hulbert, of New York, said that inasmuch as a motion had been made to admit the delegation from the Council of One Hundred from New York—a delegation from those who were the friends of Silas Wright—a man in whose tombstone there would be more force a century hence than there was in the myrmidons at Washington—friends of a man who had declared that, with his consent, the army of the United States should never be used to put slavery into Territories where it did not already exist—he hoped it would be passed; and that all others who had declared in favor of the principles of the party represented by the Convention would be admitted if possible. [Applause.]

The Maine delegation here declared that notwithstanding they had travelled a long way to attend the Convention, they would give up their places rather than that the delegation from the "Council of One Hundred" should not have a place in the hall.

On taking the question upon the resolution of Gen. Viele, the same was triumphantly adopted.

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On motion, the Convention took a recess until four o'clock this afternoon, the various committees appointed at this session in the meantime to proceed with the discharge of their duties.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

TUESDAY, 18th June, 1856.

The Convention reassembled, pursuant to adjournment, at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Hon. Robert Emmet in the chair.

Reports of Committees having been called for, the Committee to recommend officers for the permanent organization of the Convention, by George Hoadley, Esq., their Secretary, presented the following report:

The Committee on Permanent Organization report the following list of officers for the Convention:

President, Col. Henry S. Lane, of Indiana.

Vice-Presidents—Maine, Anson P. Morrill; New Hampshire, Amos Tuck; Vermont, Heman Carpenter; Massachusetts, Charles Francis Adams; Rhode Island, Jacob D. Babcock; Connecticut, Chauncey F. Cleveland; New York, John A. King; New Jersey, Joseph C. Hornblower; Pennsylvania, Joseph Ritner; Delaware, Samuel Barr; Maryland, Francis S. Corkran; Kentucky, George D. Blakey; Ohio, Noah H. Swayne, Rufus P. Spaulding; Indiana, John Beard; Illinois, William B. Archer; Michigan, Kinsley S. Bingham; Wisconsin, Walter D. McIndoe; Iowa, Francis Spinger; California, Francis B. Folger; Kansas, Samuel C. Pomeroy; Minnesota, Alex. Ramsey; District of Columbia, Jacob Bigelow.

Secretaries—District of Columbia, Benjamin B. French; Maine, James G. Blaine; New Hampshire, Daniel Blaisdell; Vermont, Levi Underwood; Massachusetts, Charles R. Train; Rhode Island, Henry Howard; Connecticut, Edgar S. Tweedy; New York, Isaac Dayton; New Jersey, Henry Race; Pennsylvania, Robert P. McKnight, A. S. Raymond; Delaware, Benj. T. Bye; Maryland, Jacob Fussel; Kentucky, William S. Bailey; Ohio, A. Sankey Latty; Indiana, W. G. Terrell; Illinois, George Schneider; Wisconsin, C. C. Kuntz; Iowa, Wm. P. Brazelton; California, George M. Hanson; Kansas, R. G. Elliott; Minnesota, J. B. Phillips.

All which is respectfully submitted.

SAMUEL A. PURVIANCE, Chairman.

GEORGE HOADLEY, JR., Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Daniel H. Tompkins, of New York, the report of the committee just read was accepted, and the gentlemen named by the committee were unanimously chosen the permanent officers of the Convention.

On motion, the Hon. George W. Patterson, of New York, L. J. Churchfield, Esq., of Ohio, and the Hon. Samuel A. Purviance, of Pennsylvania, were appointed a committee to conduct the Hon. Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, President of the Convention elect, to the chair.

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Amid vociferous cheers for the Hoosier State, Mr. Lane was conducted to the chair of the Convention, and, when silence had been restored, addressed the Convention, in substance, as follows:

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT LANE.

Friends of Freedom and Freemen—The honor they conferred upon him transcended the ambition of the most deserving man in the Convention, and, from his inmost soul, he thanked them for the honor they had done to the gallant little State to which he belonged. The occasion was one of vast importance, and the time was propitious; it was the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill. [Applause.] They had gathered in sight of Independence Hall, with all its glorious revolutionary recollections. They were almost beneath the shade of those noble trees, under whose young boughs their fathers gathered to institute a new, a liberal, a free Government. [Applause.] They were assembled during one of the most important crises that had ensued since the days of the revolution. That day inaugurated a new era in American politics. It inaugurated a new era—the resurrection of the North. [Great applause.] Being a stranger in the city, he had experienced some difficulty in finding the place of meeting; but, while looking about, he discovered the flag of the Union floating from the house-top, and, knowing that the only National Party in the country would be likely to gather beneath its ample folds, he had come to it, and found his friends. [Applause.] But a word as to the objects for the attainment of which they had come together. They had gathered from a sense of a common danger. [Applause.] That was what had brought them together; and, consequently, they were there, forgetting their former party ties, for the common good of all, and because of their sacred love of liberty. [Applause.] He had, in all probability, as much difficulty in breaking from his old party associations. He had been an humble, but earnest and admiring follower of the gallant and glorious Henry Clay, of Kentucky. [Applause.] But from the time that he heard the Nebraska-Kansas swindle had been consummated, he had left the gallant Clay in his tomb, to follow principles which require the active support of all true men. [Applause.] Ah! when that act was perpetrated, how evident was it that Henry Clay was in his tomb! The name of Kentucky was not heard in clarion tones against the wrong.

A voice—"She will be heard yet." [Applause.]

The speaker continued: Yes, he believed she would soon be heard. But a word as to the business of the Convention. First and most important before them was the vital principle of the Republican party—the principle which they had met to sustain—no more slave States, and the admission of Kansas as a free State. [Applause.] For that they were told that they were doing more than they had a right to do—that such a movement was momentous. What, he would ask, what foundation had our fathers—what guide had they when they gathered in Independence Hall and declared for freedom? Why, rights which belong to man, rights that were born with man. [Great applause.] When the great compromise was completed, it was said that all agitation on the subject of slavery would cease. And so it was, until a set of heartless, brainless demagogues—Douglas and the rest—disturbed it. [Applause.] And he called God to witness that he designed, and he hoped that all designed to meet the issue like a

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man. Such scenes had been enacted in Kansas as demanded from every freeman all his efforts against those who would perpetuate the principles of those who had disturbed that great compromise. Scenes had been enacted there which would have disgraced the revolutionary times of France, which would have disgraced the worst days of the middle ages. These things had been done in the middle of the nineteenth century, and done through the connivance of the present weak and wicked administration. The press—a free press—had been destroyed, and ruffians from the border of Missouri had gone over and given freemen bad laws, written in the blood of the freemen who were settlers there. Take a case from his own State. A young man had gone from there to Kansas with his wife and children. He had been stricken down because he had declared for freedom. His children were now friendless, for his wife was wandering about a maniac; and we were told that when we endeavored to prevent these things we were revolutionary- If we were, it was a revolutionary feeling sanctioned by God, and which all good men must follow. In that territory the ballot boxes had been destroyed, and officers and laws had been forced upon freemen. And what of the laws? Why, they declared that if you spoke or published anything that encouraged freedom you would be imprisoned in the penitentiary. If you took a copy of the Constitution or of the Bible and read it there, you would be imprisoned, for both were anti-slavery documents. [Applause.] They had all heard that the Missouri Compromise was intended to pour oil on the troubles of the nation, with reference to the subject of slavery. The Democratic party had declared they would not touch it. But what have they done? And again, what had they done at Cincinnati? Why, with an effrontery that bordered on sublimity, they had again declared that they would not touch it. [Great applause.] Their declarations were like Dead Sea fruit—pleasant to the eye, but that turned to ashes on the lips. Now, he would say a word concerning James Buchanan. He had nothing to say against him personally, but he had much to say against his multitude of antecedents. When a young man, Mr. Buchanan was a federalist, and when the last flag of federalism floated at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, Mr. Buchanan's was the last hand that held it there. His conversion was sudden, but the light that shone upon him was light from heaven. It was a peculiar light, received during the administration of the hero of New Orleans. [Applause.] They were told, by way of rebuke, that Henry Clay, had he been alive, would have favored the Kansas-Nebraska Act. A slander more foul than that had never been perpetrated against him when alive. Had Henry Clay been alive, he would have been with the Republican party there that day. [Applause.] His first speech made in Kentucky was in favor of a gradual emancipation of the slaves. [Applause.] And when the Greeks were struggling for freedom, his voice was the first to encourage them an call for aid. All his words and all his acts were for freedom. [Applause.] Then they were told that the great Daniel Webster would have favored it had he been living. It was not for them to call up the spirit of the great departed, and therefore he would only say to those who uttered such sentiments: let them beware how they slandered the dead. [Great applause.] They had met there to decide who should be elected the standard-bearer, and whenever he should be named let them follow the banner, and be sure it would lead to victory. [Ap-

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plause.] They could follow it, for in doing so they would be following the banner of the nation. There was no disunion in the ranks of the Republican party. It was united. The disunion cry came from the South. It was uttered only by demagogues and believed by fools. [Applause.] It was uttered by South Carolina —by the unhung nullifiers there who still have the halter of Gen. Jackson about their necks. [Great applause.] They called the men of the North abolitionists. If to sympathize with the freemen of Kansas, and to oppose the acts of the men from Missouri who had invaded that territory was abolitionism, they might write "Abolitionist" all over him, and more, when he had died, they might write "Abolitionist" on his tombstone. To say that to refuse adhesion to the Fugitive Slave bill was treason, was to say what he did not believe. If it was, they might get their marshals ready, for he intended to declare it upon every stump during the campaign. [Applause.] On a beautiful evening, in Philadelphia, the watch cried, "A beautiful night, and all is well—and Lord Cornwallis is taken!" [Applause.] And if they were true to their duty, in November next, the watchman in Philadelphia would cry again, "It is a beautiful night, and all is well—and James Buchanan is taken!" [Great applause.] But to have that occur, they must work—work unitedly and earnestly. Do that, a triumph was sure.

The Vice-Presidents and Secretaries then took their places upon the stand, and entered upon the discharge of their duties.

The Hon Elbridge E. Spaulding, from the Committee on Credentials and on Rules for the Government of the Convention, presented the following report in part:

The Committee on Credentials report the following resolution in respect to the contested seats from Pennsylvania, viz.:

Resolved: That B. D. Patengill, Charles D. Cleveland, John F. Gilpin, of the first district; William S. Pierce, William Elder, Henry C. Cary, of the second district; Joseph J. Gillingham, Thomas E. Cavender, and Mahlon Dickinson, of the third district, and George H. Earl, William B. Thomas, and Passmore Williamson, of the fourth district, are entitled to seats in this Convention, as delegates from their respective districts.

The committee further report the following resolutions for the government of the proceedings of the Convention:

Resolved: That in voting for a candidate for President, the States be called in their order, and that the chairman of each delegation present the number of votes given to each candidate for President by the delegates from his State, each State being limited in its votes to three times the number of electors to which such State is entitled: *Provided,* that no State shall give a larger vote than the number of delegates actually present in the Convention;

And Provided: That Kansas shall be considered for this purpose as a State, with the same electoral votes as any other State entitled to only one representative in Congress.

Resolved: That the same rule shall apply to the nomination of Vice-President.

Resolved: That the rules of the House of Representatives be adopted, so far as they are applicable to this Convention.

All which is respectfully submitted in part.

Philadelphia, 17th June, 1856.

ELBRIDGE G. SPAULDING, Chairman.

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On motion of Mr. Denning Duer, of New Jersey, the report of the committee was accepted, and the resolutions were adopted; and the gentlemen reported as entitled to seats in the Convention, from the State of Pennsylvania, were admitted to seats accordingly.

An inquiry having been made as to whether anything was said in the report about a two-thirds rule, the President said the subject was not attended to, but he supposed Republicans were willing to abide the will of the majority.

On motion of the Hon. George W. Patterson, it was—

Resolved: That the Committee on Credentials be requested to report, together with the names of the members of this Convention, the post office address of each member, and that the chairman of each State delegation be requested to furnish the same to the committee.

On motion, the Hon. Caleb Smith, of Indiana, was invited to address the Convention.

Mr. Smith was cordially welcomed by the Convention, and spoke, in substance, as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. CALEB SMITH.

Mr. Smith ascended the platform amid loud applause, and said, that although he felt very much honored by this most unexpected call, yet he would confess he felt himself much embarrassed in a Convention like this, where were so many gentlemen more distinguished than himself; but he could not, in justice to the gallant State to which he belonged, refuse to respond to this call to occupy their attention for a few moments. They had met here to-day, he continued, for a very important object, and the action of this body was calculated, in his judgment, to exercise a great influence on the future government of this country. This Convention represented a party of a character which no political party had ever before assumed. We were called upon to vote to consider questions not of mere expediency, but questions on the decision of which depends the perpetuity of this government and confederation. This party was obviously brought together for no ordinary purpose. A nation's welfare and continued existence depended upon its patriotism. The man must indeed be insensible who could not now see the dark cloud which overhangs the horizon of our country. He would be the last of those to favor a party based on sectional issues, and the calumnies that were heaped on this Republicon party, as a sectional party, he repelled with contemptuous denial. There never was a party since the days of Washington so national in its aim as this, for its object was to preserve and extend freedom, and was not freedom national? [Cheers.] The South had lately promulgated the view that slavery was national and freedom sectional. It was for the Republican party to assert and maintain the nationality of freedom and extend liberty wherever the flag of our country waves. [Cheers.] The Republican party had no desire to interfere with slavery in States where slavery already exists. If the slaveholders wish to hug their chains in darkness, let them, but they were not to be allowed to extend slavery into new territory bought by the com-

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mon blood and the common treasure of both sections. [Cheers.] If they looked back ten years, it would be found that there was not then a man north of Mason and Dixon's line who did not recognize and favor Republican principles, and assert the power of the general government over slavery in the Territories. But men had changed, and times had changed. The nominee of the Democratic party was now expected to embody Mr. Calhoun's extremest views. Slavery had ever been aggressive, and it had swallowed up every party in the South, or brought it into subservience. Where were now the great Southern Whigs of former times? Where was Toombs?

A voice—"In the Tombs." [Laughter.]

Toombs and all the leading Whigs of the South now acted with the Democratic party, because the leaders of that party in the North, in their pursuit of the spoils, overlooked everything, and were ready and willing to humiliate themselves in the dust before the car of slavery, and to consent to be made the instruments of perpetuating and extending its rule. [Cheers.] But many of those who formerly associated and were identified with the Democracy had become disgusted with its cringing disregard of the principles of freedom, and enlisted themselves under the banner of Republicanism. Civil war was now raging in Kansas, and how long, he asked, would the North suffer the contumelies, the insults, the murderous atrocities that were now being perpetrated in Kansas on Northern men, because of their devotion to freedom? The only party by which that state of things could be changed was the Republican party—a party not organized to advance the interests of any man or set of men, but to maintain the principles of freedom. [Cheers.] It was a duty of the men of that party to unite in nominating a man who should embody and carry out their principles, and having nominated him to place him in the van, and follow him unhesitatingly into the thickest of the fight, which must result in their victory. [Loud and continued applause.]

After vehement calls for a great number of gentlemen, Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, took the platform amid loud applause.

MR. LOVEJOY'S SPEECH.

He said: Nations, as well as individuals, have their destiny. There often appears on the stage of human action in this world individuals who seem to have been designed to fulfill a certain purpose. The same thing was true in regard to nations. Each had a mission which it was intended to perform. The question here was, what was the mission?—the special destiny, or as it has sometimes been called, the manifest destiny of the American nation? He had been gratified to hear it announced by the President of this Convention, that there was a Providence, a Divine Power ruling over all things, and a revelation from that Divine Being to man, and that there was a higher law than that created by demagogues. [Loud cheers.] The mission of Pilgrim Fathers was to exhibit the practicability of a "Church without a Bishop, and a State without a King." And he cared not what may have been the creed of the man who drew up the Declaration of Independence—the truths it asserted were intended to realize that mission, and bore evidence of having been traced under the direct influence of a Divine inspiration. [Loud cheers.] And he thanked

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God that the principles of that declaration were yet warm in the great American heart. It declared that Government derived their power, not from invading Border Ruffians, but from the will of the governed. What, then, was the mission? The manifest destiny of this American people, who from a handful of pilgrims on Massachusetts' shore had multiplied to a nation of twenty-four millions of men? Was it their destiny to chase niggers? [Cheers and laughter.] Was it their destiny to go fillibustering over the continent, and having conquered new Territory to plant slavery in it? [Loud cheers.] God never designed this nation for such objects as that. What, then, was the mission of America? It was to maintain and illustrate the self-evident truths laid down in that Declaration of Independence. And the question now came to us, whether we would fulfill our destiny, by maintaining those immortal truths, which we cherish in our hearts. He was glad to hear the President declare that if to maintain those rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence were abolition, he wanted to have it traced all over him, and should be satisfied to have such an inscription as his epitaph. [Laughter.] He (the speaker) supposed he was an Abolitionist on the same principle, and this was an assertion which he was positive would do no harm, for when they were talking about putting that in a platform, he said he did not care whether they put it in the platform or not, because they would be sure to take the disease in the natural way, and it would be broken out all over them before the campaign ended. [Laughter and applause.] Now, what was the principle thus set up? It was simply the truth that all men had been created equal. It was a reaffirmation of that Divine truth which was announced ages ago, when the Creator said: "Let us make man in our own image." As man was made in the likeness of God, every man had an aspiration after the eternal, and was conscious of there being a miniature God within himself; and that image must not be crushed, however degraded, for God was there. There was a germ of immortality there, which at some time, however remote, would emerge and shine as a star forever and ever. And it was this doctrine of the immortality of the soul that lay at the foundation of abolitionism. [Loud cheers.] It might be said that such a doctrine would carry us into the slaveholding States. True; but it did not follow that it demanded the exercise of any power save a moral one. He was standing here in Philadelphia, and might be allowed to quote the saying of Franklin, who asserted that "he would go to the verge of the Constitution in favor of freedom." But he (the speaker) would not be satisfied with that—he would jump off the Constitution to promote the same object. If the old Shylock came here, whetting his knife on his shoe, he would be met by the declaration, that we would stand by the bond however hard it was, and that we would give him his pound of flesh, but not one drop of blood. [Cheers.] We were to look Slavery in the face, as our fathers looked the despotism of the British George in the face, and expel it the same way from off free Territories. [Cheers.] The slavery talk about sectionality, and all that, was the sublimity of impudence. The men who charged the Republicans with sectionalism were themselves going through the country crying "Nigger! nigger!" everywhere; and yet when the Republican party triumph, he wanted the South to be treated justly. Let her have her full share. But the North would stand for freedom, and freedom would be maintained. Heretofore this

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country had been ruled by two hundred and fifty thousand slave-holders, and the North had been bowed down like an elephant to receive an ass' load, and staggered under their lash. Would they consent to that? [Vehement cries of "No! no!"] He felt more and felt better—[laughter]—for this mighty gathering, brought together by a common impulse of patriotism, and beating with the same pulses of liberty, than he had ever felt before. They were now preparing for a stern, though bloodless conflict, and Slavery in this struggle must go over the precipice. They were afraid that they could not carry Pennsylvania. But they had no cause for such fear—for Pennsylvania would be sure to give them a majority, under any circumstances; and no matter whether it was the son of New York who was to be their choice—[loud cheers]—or the noble son of Ohio, or the gallant Fremont—[loud cheers]—or that venerable statesman, clothed with the ermine that never knew a spot—he cared not who the standard bearer of the party was. They would unite to a man, and carry him triumphantly into the Presidential seat. [Loud and prolonged cheering and applause.]

A motion was again made to adjourn, but a delegate rose and moved that Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, be invited to address the Convention. The motion was enthusiastically adopted and the honorable gentleman designated ascended the platform amid a perfect storm of cheering and applause, again and again renewed.

HON. HENRY WILSON'S SPEECH.

He said: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention, I need not say that this kind greeting is to me a source of gratification. I have been more accustomed to look into the stern faces of foes than to meet the glances of friends. [Cheers.] Sir, this convocation of the freemen of the United States here to-day is a source of gratification to every lover of liberty on the North American Continent. [Cheers.] This is not the convention of a party—it is the assemblage of the freemen of the country of all political parties. [Loud cheers.] This, sir, is a convention coming here to place in nomination a ticket, around which, we trust, the lovers of human liberty all over the country will gather without reference to the divisions of the past. Sir, our object is to overthrow the Slave Power of the country, now organized in the Democratic party of the country. [Loud cheers.] The present administration now embodies in itself the organized slave interest of the Republic. Mr. Buchanan represents this day the Democracy of Franklin Pierce, for he had ceased to be James Buchanan, and must square himself to the platform of the party. [Great cheers.] The Democratic party, supporting this administration—an administration that has plunged this nation into a civil war—assembled in convention, adopted a platform dictated by the slave interest of the country, nominated James Buchanan, and he ceased to be a Pennsylvania freeman, and must square his conduct by the terms and conditions of that platform. [Cheers.] Now, sir, we wish to defeat James Buchanan, to overthrow that platform, to enthrone Liberty in the Government of this Republic. [Cheers.] Sir, the Republican party, young, vigorous, fresh organized for liberty, cannot do it alone and unaided.

A voice—"That is so."

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The old Whigs of the country can make no successful organization to defeat that. The American Party is powerless as an organization, alone, to overthrow that power. Independent Democrats, men who follow the great doctrines of Thomas Jefferson, who believe in pure, unadulterated progressive Democracy, that embraces in its affections the whole globe—this Democracy can make no successful effort alone for the overthrow of the Democratic party; but, sir, these men can unite and they can defeat that party, [loud cheers, and cries of "They will do it!"] and I call upon the members of the Republican party assembled here to-day to come here in the spirit of a lofty, self-sacrificing patriotism, and adopt a policy liberal and generous towards others, and lay the foundation for this union of all parties to save this Republic. [Loud cheers.] I call upon the Whigs—men who believe in the words of Daniel Webster—that we must seize the first, the last and every occasion to oppose the extension of the slave power. I call upon these Whigs to stand now by the doctrines of that great leader whom they followed so many years. [Cheers.] I call upon independent Democrats, on the men who have fought the battles of Democracy, but who have fought not the battles of slavery—who have stood by the Democratic party, but who can follow their black banner no longer—to come here and unite with us in this glorious effort. Come here and let us make a true Democratic party, that shall represent the genuine Democracy of America. [Cheers.] And, sir, I ask Americans—men who profess an exalted patriotism and love of country, and broad and expansive nationality—I ask them to come here and unite with us to save the first principles of American liberty—free speech, a free press, free soil, free Kansas. [Cheers, and a voice—"And Freemont."] Then let us, one and all, of all parties, forget; and, in the words of Whittier, "Let us forgive—forgive, unite." [Loud cheering.] And then, gentlemen, coming here in this party, willing to sacrifice all our personal feelings, let us join with each other, from every State in the Union, and select a candidate round whom we can all rally, with the hope of winning a glorious victory. For myself, I would sacrifice any man and any friend on earth to unite American Freemen for the rescue of the American Government of the United States from the power of slavery. [Loud cheers.] Look now at our friends in Kansas, who are periling all of life and of hope—who lie down at night with the conviction that their little dwelling may be burned over them before morning, or they themselves may be murdered because they love liberty. I say that when these men are thus being sacrificed, it becomes us to sacrifice our personal preferences for the cause of human liberty in America. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, civil war rages beyond the Missouri. This administration of Franklin Pierce has forced that war upon us. Franklin Pierce went to the Cincinnati Convention with the light of the burning dwellings of Kansas flashing upon his brazen brow. [Loud cheers.] He went there with the blood of the murdered freemen of Kansas dripping from his polluted hands. [Loud and continued cheering.] Aye, that Convention spewed out the thing it had used. [Cheers.] It spewed him out, and to-day he has gone down too beneath the withering scorn and contempt of the American people. [Loud cheers.] Then there is Judge Douglas, the man who brought forward this repeal of the Missouri prohibition of slavery; he went into that Convention with high hopes, and he

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came out of it with his hopes blasted forever. [Cheers.] The Slave Power saw that it had used Pierce all up. [Cheers.] But there was not a particle of life, or of strength, or of hope in him, and the Slave Power flung him out of the window of that Cincinnati Convention. [Cheers.] The Slave Power knew that Douglas had forever blasted himself before the American People, and that he never could receive their suffrages. [Cheers.] But the Slave Power wanted a tool—it wanted the vote of a Northern State, and it casts its eye to Pennsylvania and James Buchanan. The gentleman, sir, with a glorious name, Judge Emmet, who presided over us this morning, [cheers,] told us that Mr. Buchanan had once said that if he had a drop of Democratic blood in his veins, he would let it out. Well, sir, that is an excellent expression for the candidate of a party that has eliminated every Democratic principle from its platform. [Cheers and laughter.] We have got a Democrat that never had a drop of Democratic blood in his veins, because he is undoubtedly a man of truth, and if he had had a drop of it in him, it would have been let out. And we have got a platform that has not a single Democratic principle embodied in it. No, not a one. [Laughter and cheers.] And this party, calling itself the Democratic Party, now stands before the country, and has placed its hope upon the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Sir, the gentleman who preceded me said you could not throw Pennsylvania away. She must vote with her Northern sister. Sir, the freemen of Pennsylvania met this crisis with the boldness with which their fathers met the crisis in 1775. Pennsylvania will repudiate this son of hers, and give her vote to the nominee of this Convention. [Loud cheers.] And, sir, I say that we of the East, of the West, and of the Centre States, owe it to our common country, and the cause of liberty, to carry every free State in the Union for Liberty. [Cheers.] The argument is all ours. The moral sentiment of the nation is ours. Everything that sustains the great cause is fighting to-day upon our side. [Cheers.] Our brethren who went out with us to carry free institutions beyond the Missouri, are being murdered for loving liberty. A Senator of a sovereign state on the floor of Congress, for denouncing the crime against Kansas, has been stricken senseless on the floor of the American Senate.

A voice—"Three cheers for Sumner." [Rounds of vociferous cheering, again and again renewed, greeted this demand.]

A voice—"Three groans for Brooks." [A storm of groans and yells was elicited in response.]

Mr. Wilson resumed. We are not only fighting, he said, to save Kansas, to make a Free State beyond the Missouri, but we are fighting to vindicate freedom of speech in the National Congress. [Loud cheers.] I see by telegraphic dispatches from Washington that the announcement is made when that question comes up in the House the Southern gentlemen are to make threats and perhaps to execute them. [Shouts of "Let them dare! let them dare!"] Gentlemen, I believe that the men who represent you have made up their minds. [Vociferous cheers and cries of "Good! bravo!"] I believe they are firmly resolved to speak their sentiments with entire and absolute freedom. [Renewed cheering.] I believe they have made up their minds to go where duty requires them to go, vote as duty requires them to vote; and I believe they have

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made up their minds to defend their persons and their lives whenever—[tremendous and long cheering]—whenever, wherever, however, by whomsoever assailed. [Great cheering.] No, gentlemen, threats will not silence the freemen of the North. We know we have behind us fifteen millions of freemen—[cheers]—we know that if we fail in the exercise of our constitutional duties, and in defense of our constitutional rights, that gallant and true men all over the North will step into our places, and fill them better than we can do. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, trouble yourselves with no anxiety about affairs in Washington. We will take care of ourselves. [Thundering cheers.] We want to have it known all over the land that the representatives of the Northern freemen are ready to take care of themselves in the performance of their duty. [Cheers.] But while we make that resolution and adhere to it, in God's name, gentlemen of the North, resolve to do your duty and to blot out out the Slave Power of the country. [Cheers.] We can do it, aye, and I believe in my soul we can do it. [Loud cheers.] But I feel here to-day that millions are looking with trembling anxiety upon the deliberations of this Convention. Disappoint them not, gentlemen, by any petty little interest in the division. Consult with each other in candor and in frankness, and then nominate a man upon whom you can unite with the most votes, and who is true to your principles. [Cheers.] If the bold, gallant Fremont is your candidate—[enthusiastic cheering]—we will rally around him the young, the gallant spirits of the Republic; if McLean—the learned McLean—

A voice—"Three cheers for McLean." [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

Another voice—"Three cheers for Fremont." [An overwhelming shout that almost made the building shake was the response.]

Mr. Wilson, you are divided now in regard to your cheers for Fremont and McLean. After either of them receives your nomination I hope there will be no dividing cheers.

A voice—"Take the vote now."

Several voices—"No."

Mr. Wilson, gentlemen, if you nominate the present speaker of the House of Representatives—[cheers]—the first man who led us to victory, let us, all of us of the North, rally around him and sustain the liberty of our country.

A voice—"Three cheers for Banks." [Loud cheering.]

Mr. Wilson, if you nominate Salmon P. Chase—[great cheering]—one of the foremost men of the Republic—let us, all of us, rally around him and place him in the Presidential Chair, that he is so well qualified to fill. And, gentlemen, if in this Convention you should place your suffrages upon the foremost statesman of America, Wm. H. Seward—[three bursts of frantic cheering, waving of hats, handkerchiefs, &c., the whole assemblage rising *en masse,* with which Wm. H. Seward's name was received, prevented the speaker from proceeding for several minutes.]

Mr. Wilson, aye, gentlemen, I say this foremost statesman of America, and a man fit to lead the movement in which we are engaged. All of these men I believe to be true, to be reliable, to be fully with us in the movements in which we are engaged. And, gentlemen, whoever we may nominate from among them or others that I name, let us, one and all, unite; for our cause is the cause of Liberty and the cause of Patriotism. Gentlemen, I thank you for your kindness and for the attention with which you have

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listened to the few desultory remarks I have thrown out, and I close by saying that the freemen of the North have a right to govern this country, and we have assembled here to-day to take the Government of the Republic and to be the party of the Constitution, of the Union—of union, of law, of order, and of property. [Tremendous cheering, amidst which the honorable gentleman resumed his seat.]

On motion, the Convention adjourned till to-morrow, Wednesday morning, at ten o'clock.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

PHILADELPHIA, Wednesday, 18th June, 1856.

The Convention assembled at ten o'clock.

Hon. Henry S. Lane, President, in the chair.

The proceedings were opened with a prayer by the Rev. Anson Rood, of Philadelphia.

On motion, the reading of the Journal of yesterday's proceedings was dispensed with.

Hon. Elbridge G. Spaulding, from the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following report of the names and post office address of the members of this Convention:

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,

PHILADELPHIA, June 18, 1856.

The Committee on Credentials, etc., to whom it was referred to report to the Convention the names and post office address of the members of this Convention, respectfully report the following roll of the members of this Convention, specifying their several post office addresses.

Roll of the Members of the Convention.

MAINE.

Anson P. Morrell, Readfield; Edward Kent, Bangor; Abner R. Hollowell, Bangor; Theophilus Cushing, Frankfort; Henry Carter, Portland; George M. Weston, Bangor.

1. William Willis, Portland; James M. Deering, Saco; S. C. Adams, Newfield.
2. M. H. Dunnell, Norway; T. A. D. Fesseden, Auburn; Jonathan Russ, N. Sharon.
3. H. Kennedy, Waldoborough; Francis Cobb, Rockland; N. Abbott, Belfast.
4. A. Garcelon, Lewiston; Wm. Connet, Fairfield; J. G. Blaine, Augusta.
5. Joseph Bartlett, Bangor; John H. Rice, Monson; W. M. E. Brown, Solon.
6. N. Blake, Portage Lake; A. K. P. Wallace, Milbridge; A. M. P. Emerson, Oland.

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NEW HAMPSHIRE.

William M. Weed, Sandwich; Amos Tuck, Exeter; Dan'l Clark, Manchester; Benj. Pettingill, Salisbury; Daniel Blaisdell, Hanover; Levi Chamberlin, Keene.

1. H. S. Spear, Laconia; Wm. Conn, Portsmouth; G. P. Folsom, Dover.

2. Geo. G. Fogg, Concord; A. F. Pike, Franklin; I. W. Smith, Manchester.

3. D. A. Burnside, Lancaster; Alvah Smith, Lempster; G. Cummings, Lisbon.

VERMONT.

H. Hall, North Bennington; Heman Carpenter, Northfield; E. Fairbanks, St. Johnsbury; William Skinner, Royalton; L. Brainard, St. Albans; L. Underwood, Burlington.

1. D. E. Nicholson, Walingford; E. D. Warner, New Haven; H. K. Slayton, Calais.

2. E. Kirkland, Brattleboro; R. Fletcher, Proctorsville; Wm. F. Dickinson, Chelsea.

3. Rolla Gleason, Richmond; H. H. Reynolds, Alburgh; W. L. Sowles, Swanton Falls.

MASSACHUSETTS.

T. D. Elliot, New Bedford; Simon Brown, Concord; C. W. Bellows, Pepperell; Charles Allen, Worcester; Moses Kimball, Boston; Homer Bartlett, Lowell.

1. R. French, New Bedford; C. G. Davis, Plymouth; Z. D. Basset, Hyannis.

2. Guilford White, Easton; G. B. Weston, Duxbury; C. A. Church, Westport.

3. C. F. Adams, Quincy; George R. Russell, West Roxbury; F. W. Bird, Walpole.

4. William Brigham, Boston; Ezra Lincoln, Boston; R. C. Nichols, Boston.

5. Francis B. Fay, Chelsea; B. C. Clark, Boston; Jas. W. Stone, Boston.

6. S. H. Phillips, Salem; John B. Alley, Lynn; Richard P. Waters, Salem.

7. Chas. Hudson, Lexington; Thos J. Marsh, Waltham; M. Morton, Jr., Andover.

8. C. R. Train, Farmingham; J. A. Goodwin, Lowell; E. R. Hoar, Concord.

9. P. E. Aldrich, Worcester; A. Walker, North Brookfield; Ivers Phillips, Fitchburg; Artemas Lee, Templeton.

10. E. Hopkins, Northampton; C. A. Perry, North Salem; M. D. Whittaker, Chicopee.

11. D. W. Alford, Greenfield; Z. M. Crane, Dalton; E. B. Gillett; Westfield.

RHODE ISLAND.

W. Hoppin, Providence; Byron Dyman, Bristol; Edward Harris, Woonsocket; Wm. M. Chace, Providence; R. G. Hazard, Peacedale; Nicholas Brown, Providence; G. Manchester, South Portsmouth; Thos. Davis, Providence; H. Howard, Providence; J. D. Babcock, Ashaway; Stephen Benedict, Pawtucket; E. Pendleton, Wm. Sheldon, Providence.

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CONNECTICUT.

John M. Niles, Hartford; Benj. Silliman, New Haven; D. F. Robinson, Hartford; Charles Ives, New Haven; C. F. Cleveland, Hampton; Charles Adams, Litchfield.

1. D. Loomis, Rockville; Jas. M. Bunce, Hartford; T. Welles, Glastenbury.

2. B. Douglass, Middletown; C. L. English, New Haven; Elihu Spencer, Middletown.

3. D. P. Tyler, Brooklyn; A. Brandagee, North London; Moses Pierce, Norwich.

4. F. S. Wildman, Danbury; Geo. D. Wadhams, Wolcottville; W. B. Hoyt, Danbury.

NEW YORK.

Philip Dorsheimer, Buffalo; Moses H. Grinnell, New York; Preston King, Ogdensburgh; Robert Emmet, New York; Charles Cook, Havana; D. W. C. Littlejohn, Oswego.

1. John A. King, Jamaica; W. W. Leland, Queens; D. G. Floyd, Greenport.

2. Abijah Mann, Jr., Brooklyn; Rollin Sanford, New York; John G. Bergen, Brooklyn.

3. D. H. Tompkins, New York; Andrew Bleakley, New York; Hiram Barney, New York.

4. Anthony J. Bleecker, New York; James Kelly, New York; Wm. Jones, Jr., New York.

5. John Bigelow, New York; James F. Freeborn, New York; Geo. H. Andrews, New York.

6. W. Curtis Noyes, New York; Isaac Sherman, New York; Jos. C. Pinckney, New York.

7. John Keyser, New York; Charles C. Leigh, New York; Lyman Sherwood, New York.

8. Edgar Ketchum, New York; *Isaac Dayton, New York; Chas. Kiddle, New York; A. Oakey Hall, New York.

9. W. Bleakley, Verplancks; Lewis C. Platt, West Plains; J. Watson Webb, New York.

10. G. M. Grier, Orange; H. R. Luddington, Sullivan; Amb. S. Murray, Orange.

11. Jackson H. Shultz, Ulster; Wm. H. Romeyn, Ulster; Henry Wynkoop, Greene.

12. John S. Gould, Columbia; Aug. L. Allen, Dutchess; D. C. Marshall, Dutchess.

13. John J. Viele, Rensselaer; G. Reynolds, Rensselaer; A. B. Olin, Rensselaer.

14. J. L. Schoolcraft, Albany; B. R. Wood, Albany; C. F. Crosby, Albany.

15. A. Pond, Saratoga; J. T. Masters, Washington; P. Richards, Warren.

16. George W. Goff, Essex; Geo. W. Palmer, Clinton; A. B. Parmalee, Franklin.

17. W. W. Golding, St. Lawrence; H. P. Alexander, Herkimer; Ezra Graves, Herkimer.

18. Simon H. Mix, Schoharie; John Wells, Fulton; R. Elwood, Schenectady.

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* Mr. Ketchum having been obliged to leave for home before the close of the Convention, Mr. Dayton was appointed, by the delegation, in his place.

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19. Wm. H. Averil, Otsego; Aug. R. Elwood, Otsego; J. H. Graham, Delaware.
20. Richard Hulbert, Oneida; Tim. Jenkins, Oneida; Alaric Hubbell, Oneida.
21. R. H. Deuell, Cortland; Wm. Stuart, Broome; G. W. Blunt, New York.
22. A. B. Coe, Madison; Sam. D. Clark, Madison; S. M. Tucker, Oswego.
23. J. K. Bates, Jefferson; David Alger, Lewis; Joseph Fayel, Jefferson.
24. R. Hebbard, Onondago; Joseph J. Glass, Onondago; E. L. Soule, Onondago.
25. E. B. Morgan, Cayuga; Wm. Wasson, Cayuga; Robert Ennis, Wayne.
26. M. H. Lawrence, Yates; John E. Seeley, Seneca; T. J. McLouth, Ontario.
27. M. S. Barnes, Thompkins; Thomas Farrington, Tioga; E. P. Brooks, Chemung.
28. A. B. Dickinson, Steuben; Wm. Irvine, Steuben; Isaac L. Endress, Livingston.
29. Roswell Hart, Monroe; Sam. G. Andrews, Monroe; Ezra Parsons, Monroe.
30. W. S. Mallory, Genessee; Aug's Frank, Wyoming; Theo. F. Hall, Allegheny.
31. E. J. Chase, Niagara; Isaac W. Swan, Orleans; J. W. Babcock, Niagara.
32. A. M. Clapp, Erie; E. G. Spaulding, Erie; Theo. D. Barton, Erie.
33. G. W. Patterson, Chautauqua; R. E. Fenton, Chautauqua; A. G. Rice, Cattaraugus.

NEW JERSEY

J. C. Hornblower, Newark; I. S. Mulford, Camden; G. B. Raymond, Bordentown; J. Van Dyke, New Brunswick; E. W. Whelpley, Morristown; D. S. Gregory, Jersey City.

1. J. W. Hazleton, M. Hill; W. Moore, Weymouth; Thomas Shourds, Salem.
2. Wm. Parry, Cinnamenson; W. Jay, Trenton; Joel Haywood.
3. R. S. Kennedy, Stewartsville; W. D. Waterman, Somerville; Henry Race, Pittstown.
4. C. M. K. Paulison, Passaic; A. S. Pennington, Paterson; W. S. Johnson, Newton.
5. Wm. S. Taitonte, Newark; H. H. Bowne, Rahway; Denning Duer, Hoboken.

PENNSYLVANIA.

David Wilmot, Henry D. Maxwell, Thomas Williams, John Allison, John Dick, Joseph Ritner.

1. B. D. Pettingill, C. D. Cleveland. John F. Gilpin.
2. William S. Pierce, William Elder, Henry C. Carey.
3. Joseph J. Gillingham, Thomas S. Cavender, Mahlon H. Dickinson.
4. George H. Earle, William B. Thomas, Passmore Williamson.
5. William Morris Davis, Brewster Randall, Edward F. Roberts.
6. A. R. McIlvain, William Butler, J. P. Eyre.
7. George Lear, Caleb N. Taylor, Joseph Young.
8. Jacob Hoffman, John Sheetz, William M. Baird.
9. Thaddeus Stevens, Thomas Scottwood, James Black.

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10. Eli K. Sliffer, Josiah Funch, John Adams Fisher.
11. David Taggart, William A. Hanman, Robert M. Palmer.
12. P. M. Osterhout, Abinza Gardner.
13. R. L. Seeley, S. C. Cook, Samuel L. Cooley.
14. Charles F. Reed, Ulysses Mercun, John F. Averill.
15. P. Hurdic, G. Haines.
16. C. H. Bressler, Joseph Speck, William W. Watts.
17. A. King, John E. Ellis, G. W. Zeigler, S. E. Duffield, William Wright, John R. Heurt.
18. S. S. Blair, A. S. Raymond, Jonathan McWilliam, J. M. Campbell, Cyrus Elder.
19. C. P. Markle, John Craig, John McEwen.
20. J. T. Rogers, William S. Moon, Colin M. Reed.
21. N. B. Craig, E. D. Gazzan, James Carother.
22. Samuel Purviance, George Darsie, Robert P. McKnight.
23. William F. Clark, Richard P. Roberts, Lawrence McGuffy.
24. E. Cowan, C. P. Ransdell, S. P. McCalmont.
25. A. Huidekoper, J. A. French, R. Lyle White.

DELAWARE.

E. G. Bradford, Wilmington; L. Thompson, Pleasant Hill; T. Walters, Wilmington; W. Bowman, St. Georges; Samuel Barr, Wilmington; *Pusey Wilson, Wilmington; Benj. T. Bye, Wilmington; Samuel N. Pusey, Wilmington; Alex. H. Dixon, Wilmington; Jas. C. Jackson, Wilmington.

MARYLAND.

E. P. Blair, Washington; D. C.; W. H. Farquhar, Sandy Spring; Elias Hawley, Baltimore; F. S. Corkran, Baltimore; George Harris Baltimore; Jacob Fussell, Baltimore; E. G. Rayne, Baltimore; John H. Wilson, Rolandsville; David Gamble, Emmetsburg.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

B. B. French, Washington; Jacob Bigelow, Washington; Lewis Clephane, Washington.

OHIO.

R. P. Spaulding, Cuyahoga; W. Dennison, Jr., Franklin; Thos. Spooner, Hamilton; John Paul, Defiance; E. R. Eckley, Carroll; A. P. Stone, Franklin.

1. J. K. Greene, Hamilton; A. Taft, Hamilton; Charles E. Cist, Hamilton.
2. Medard Fels, Hamilton; T. G. Mitchell, Hamilton; George Hoadley, Hamilton.
3. Josiah Scott, Butler; L. B. Gunckel, Montgomery; Felix Marsh, Preble.
4. J. W. Defrees, Miami; B. S. Kyle, Miami; Edward B. Taylor, Darke.
5. J. M. Ashley, Lucas; Wm. Sheffield, Defiance; A. S. Latty, Paulding.
6. Joseph Parrish, Clermont; Chambers Baird, Brown; Wm. Ellison, Adams.
7. Aaron Harlon, Greene; Robt. G. Corwin, Warren; Charles Phillis, Madison.

*Mr. Bye was substituted in the place of Mr. Wilson after the opening of the Convention.

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8. George H. Frey, Clarke; L. J. Chrichfield, Delaware; Levi Phelps, Union.
9. John Cary, Wyandotte; C. H. Gatch, Hardin; C. F. Smead, Ottawa.
10. R. M. Stimson, Lawrence; Milton Kennedy, Scioto; George J. Payne, Gallia.
11. T. R. Stanley, Vinton; V. B Horton, Meiggs; David Munch, Perry.
12. N. H. Swayne, Franklin; J. Buckingham, Licking; Robert Neal, Franklin.
13. Jos. M. Root, Erie; J. R. Osborne, Huron; J. M. Talmadge, Morrow.
14. F. D. Kimball, Medina; Peter Risser, Ashland; H. E. Peck, Lorain.
15. W. Stanton, Coshocton; J. C. Devine, Knox; W. A. Sapp, Knox.
16. A. A. Guthrie, Muskingum; Isaac Greene, Morgan; G. M. Woodbridge, Washington.
17. C. J. Albright, Guernsey; M. Pennington, Belmont; E. Ellis, Belmont.
18. C. Prentiss, Portage; C. P. Wolcott, Summit; J. A. Saxton, Stark.
19. T. Bolton, Cuyahoga; John F. Morse, Lake; Job S. Wright, Geauga.
20. J. R. Giddings, Ashtabula; J. Hutchins, Trumbull; T. J. Young, ———
21. J. Heaton, Columbiana; D. McCurdy, Jefferson; R. Hutton, Harrison.

IOWA.

F. Springer, Columbus City; F. H. Warring, Burlington; J. B. Howell, Keokuk; J. W. Sherman, Adell; J. W. Caldwell, Autumnway; W. P. Brazelton, Mount Pleasant; R. L. B. Clark, Mount Pleasant; T. Drumming, Mason City; A. J. Stevens, Fort Desmoins; James Thorington, Davenport; H. A. Wiltse, Dubuque; J. Neiding, Muscatine.

WISCONSIN.

Rufus King, Milwaukee; C. S. Chase, Racine; J. F. Potter, Makwanago; Theodore Newell, Kenosha; W. D. Bacon, Waukesha; L. P. Harvey, Sophiere; N. W. Dean, Madison; Walter D. McIndoe, Warsaw; M. Barlow, La Crosse; C. C. Kuntz, Sauk City; T. O. Howe, Green Bay; M. M. Davis, Portage City; C. L. Sholes, Kenosha; E. D. Holton, Milwaukee; D. R. Noyes, Baraboo.

MICHIGAN.

E. J. Penniman, Plymouth; Fernando C. Beaman, Adrien; Noyes L. Avery, Grand Rapids; Thomas J. Drake, Pontiac; Zachariah Chandler, Detroit; George Jerome, Detroit.
1. K. S. Bingham, Kensington; D. McIntyre, Ann Arbor; M. A. McNaughton, Jackson.
2. G. A. Coe, Coldwater; I. P. Christiancy, Monroe; W. J. Baxter, Jonesville.
3. H. G. Wells, Kalamazoo; John R. Kellogg, Allegan; R. Strickland, Dewitt.
4. Whitney Jones, Lansing; A. P. Davis, Flint; H. B. Shank, Lansing.

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ILLINOIS.

George Schneider, Chicago; Jesse O. Norton, Joliet; J. D. Arnold, Peoria; George T. Brown, Alton; J. B. Tenny, Atlanta; Miles S. Henry, Sterling; M. P. Sweet, Freeport; S. M. Church, Rockport; W. A. Little, Elizabeth; Cyrus Aldrich, Dixon; Edward R. Allan, Aurora; N. B. Judd, Chicago; W. H. L. Wallace, Ottawa; Owen Lovejoy, Princeton; A. W. Mack, Kankakee; T. J. Picket, Peoria; A. C. Harding, Monmouth; W. P. Myers, New Boston; John Tilson, Quincy; William Ross, Pittsfield; W. G. Wilcox, Fredericksville; John M. Palmer, Carlinville; Henry Grove, Peoria; S. C. Parks, Lincoln; Isaac Whittaker, Carlinville; H. C. Johns, Decatur; Leander Muncell, Paris; William B. Archer, Marshall; M. G. Atwood, Alton; Francis Grimm, Belleville; F. A. Carpenter, Belleville; David Welty, Dixon; H. Krisman, Chicago; George W. Wait, St. Charles.

INDIANA.

Henry S. Lane, Crawfordsville; John D. Defrees, Indianapolis; John W. Wright, Logansport; Charles H. Test, Centreville, W. G. Terrell, Lafayette; J. W. Gordon, Indianapolis.

1. V. C. Hanna, Indianapolis; George R. Bearss, Peru; J. Woods, Knightstown.
2. T. Tyner, Cambridge City; Thomas Scott, Madison; J. H. Harper, South Bend.
3. John J. Cummins, Brownstown; M. C. Garber, Madison; Wm. Sharp, Vernon.
4. George P. Buell, Lawrenceburg; R. Robbins, Greensburg; W. J. Peaselee, Shelbyville.
5. M. L. Bundy, Newcastle; B. F. Claypool, Connersville; Jacob B. Julian, Centreville.
6. Jonathan Harvey, Indianapolis; James Ritchey, Franklin; J. S. Miller, Danville.
7. Daniel Sigler, Greencastle; L. A. Burnett, Terre Haute; F. M. Tyner, Cambridge City.
8. S. J. Beard, Crawfordsville; W. H. Mallory, Covington; A. Peters, Lafayette.
9. D. G. Rose, Laporte; D. Bearss, Peru; T. H. Bringhurst, Logansport.
10. William Mitchell, Kendallsville; A. J. Powers, Warsaw; Samuel Hanna, Fort Wayne.
11. C. D. Murray, Kokomo; James D. Conner, Wabash; E. C. Wilcox, Covington.

KENTUCKY.

George D. Blakey, Russellville; John H. Rawlings, Joe's Lick; William S. Bailey, Newport; James R. Whittemore, Newport; John Rimell, Rock Castle.

CALIFORNIA.

Chas. A Washburn, San Francisco; George M. Hanson, Marysville; John A. Wills, San Francisco; George W. Read, Yolo; S. N. Judkins, Marysville; A. G. Coffin, Marysville; F. B. Folger, San Francisco; John Dick, Orville; S. T. Oates, Nevada; William H. Chamberlain, Alameda; Stephen Clark, San Francisco; Stephen Smith, San Francisco.

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MINNESOTA.

Alexander Ramsey, St. Paul; J. C. McCain, J. B. Phillips.

KANSAS.

Samuel N. Wood, Lawrence; Samuel C. Pomeroy, Lawrence; Martin F. Conway, Topeka; J. M. Winchell, Council City; R. G. Elliott, Lawrence; S. W. Elbridge Lawrence; Charles H. Branscomb, Ossawattamie; George F. Warren, Leavenworth; Walter Oakley, Topeka; Asaph Allen, Topeka.

Mr. Rowland G. Hazard, of Rhode Island, offered the following resolution:

Resolved: That the resolution adopted yesterday, providing for the appointment of a committee to report to the Convention the names of the Republican National Convention for the next four years, be, and the same hereby is, reconsidered, and that the said resolution be amended so as to read as follows:

Resolved: That the several State and Territorial Delegations, through their chairman, report to the Convention the name of one citizen from their respective States and Territories, to be a member of the Republican National Committee for the next four years, and that the gentlemen so appointed constitute such Republican National Committee, and that they elect the chairman of the committee.

On a division on the question, the motion to reconsider the resolution of yesterday was adopted.

The motion to amend, and the resolution of yesterday as amended, were then unanimously adopted.

On calling the States and Territories, the following named gentlemen were announced to constitute the Republican National Committee for the next four years, and were appointed accordingly.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Maine, Joseph Bartlett, Bangor; New Hampshire, George G. Fogg, Concord; Massachusetts, John T. Goodrich, Stockbridge; Vermont, Lawrence Brainard, St. Albans; Rhode Island, William M. Chase, Providence; Connecticut, Gideon Welles, Hartford; New York, Edwin D. Morgan, City of New York; New Jersey, James N. Sherman, Trenton; Pennsylvania, Thomas Williams, Pittsburg; Delaware, E. D. Williams; Maryland, George Harris, Baltimore; Kentucky, Cassius M. Clay, Frankfort; Ohio, Thomas Spooner, Cincinnati; Illinois, Hon. Norman B. Judd, Chicago; Indiana, Dr. James Ritchie, Franklin; Michigan, Zachariah Chandler, Detroit; Iowa, R. P. Lowe, Keokuk; Wisconsin, John H. Tweedy, Milwaukee; California, Cornelius Call, Sacramento City; Kansas, Martin F. Conway, Lawrence; District of Columbia, Lewis Clephane, Washington.

At a meeting of the National Republican Committee, held at the Girard House after the termination of the Convention, Edwin D. Morgan was chosen Chairman and N. B. Judd Secretary.

The Hon. David Wilmot, chairman of the committee appointed yesterday to prepare and report for the action of the Convention

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a Platform of Principles to be submitted to the people of the United States, reported the following preamble and series of resolutions to constitute such platform:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

This Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; to the policy of the present Administration; to the extension of Slavery into Free Territory; in favor of the admission of Kansas as a Free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson; and for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do

Resolve: That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

Resolved: That with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction; that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing Slavery in the Territories of the United States by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual, or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved: That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy and Slavery.

Resolved: That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people, in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest Constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them;

Their Territory has been invaded by an armed force;

Spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed.

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Test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office;

The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied;

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated;

They have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law;

The freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

The right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect;

Murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated or encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;

That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present National Administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of this Union, with her present Free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant road on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

The separate resolutions were read in perfect silence, and each was received with hearty applause. That following the resolution condemning Polygamy and Slavery was tremendous.

The last of the above series of resolutions having been reported by the Committee in the words following:

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Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all proscriptive legislation affecting their security. [Loud cheers.]

A motion was made to amend by dividing the resolution and striking out the latter clause. A further motion was made to recommit the resolution to the Committee.

After an animated discussion, in which Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Thomas Spooner, of Ohio, Mr. E. D. Gazzam, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Charles Gibbons, of Ohio, and Mr. Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, participated, these several motions were withdrawn; and Hon. Kinsley S. Bingham moved to amend the resolution, by striking out the words "proscriptive" and "affecting," and substituting in the place of the latter the word "impairing."

The resolution, with the proposed amendment, having been again read by the Hon. David Wilmot, the report of the committee was accepted; and the Platform, as amended and as above recited, was adopted with hearty cheers.

Mr. John E. Seeley, of New York, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention proceed immediately to take an informal vote for a candidate for President of the United States, to be supported by the Republican party of the United States.

Gen. James Watson Webb, of New York, took the platform in opposition to Mr. Seeley's resolution.

He said: I beg to occupy the attention of the convention for a moment. [Applause.] Gentlemen of the Convention: I rise for the purpose of opposing the resolution which has just been introduced, simply because I think it is premature, and that once having acted informally, and produced a committal on the part of the gentlemen assembled here for a great and a holy work, it will be very difficult for any of us after that to do that which we have assembled to do. An informal ballot now is virtually doing our work for the rest of this session. And in order that we may not be called upon to do that work so hastily, so inconsiderately, and I fear ultimately so injuriously to our country, I ask of you to bear in mind what it is that assembles together a Convention here, the like of which has never before been witnessed in our country. [Cheers.] From the days that the Convention assembled in the Constitutional Hall here—that Convention that declared us a free people—there never has been such a Convention assembled for such a purpose or in such a crisis. The work that they did, we are sent here by the people to perpetuate. [Cheers.[And when they came to do their work, did they listen to those about them who said, "Do it hastily?" Take the solitary instance of the election of the commander-in-chief of the forces of the Revolutionary army. It is a matter of history, gentlemen,

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that for three long weeks after George Washington had been selected in the hearts and the feelings of that Convention, they passed day after day and week after week dispatching men to all portions of the country, inviting communication, stimulating interchange of opinion, asking everybody, "Are we right?" "Is he the man?" "Can we put the banner in his hands, and thereby achieve that object for which we assembled?" [Cheers.] And are we wiser than our forefathers?

Voices—"Yes, certainly." [Great laughter.]

Mr. Webb—Gentlemen: I don't envy the complacency of the man who thinks he is a better patriot or a better man than those who gave us the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence. Why, I ask, are we here? We are here because the country is in danger. We are here because a solemn compact, by which the curse of Slavery was limited for ever to latitude 30° 30', has been violently disrupted, torn asunder, and the people of the North told "You shall have this matter forced upon you." Now, what are the people doing? Our people, loving order and loving law, and willing to abide by the ballot-box, come together from all parts of the Union and ask us to give them a nomination which, when put fairly before the people, will unite public sentiment, and, through the ballot-box, will restrain and repel this Pro-Slavery extension and this aggression of the slaveocracy. What else are they doing? They tell you that they are willing to abide by the ballot-box, and willing to make that the last appeal. If we fall there, what then? We will drive it back, sword in hand, and, so help me God! believing that to be right, I am with them. [Loud cheers, and cries of "Good!"] Now, then, gentlemen, on your action depends the result. You may, with God's blessing, present to this country a man rallying round it all the elements of the opposition, and we will thus become so strong that through the ballot-box we shall save the country. But, if a name be presented on which we may not rally, and the consequence is civil war—yes, nothing more, nothing less, but civil war—I ask, then, what is our first duty? If every mind in this Convention was made up at this moment—if every man had one and the same feeling with all the rest, I would say to you: Gentlemen, as you love your country, as you love its peace, and hope for its future prosperity, do not act hastily. That which is good to-day is equally good to-morrow and the next day; and if it will not keep till to-morrow or the next day, it had better not be done. [Cheers.] I have no earthly object but the general good. I know there are people who think I have been acting against a particular man, because I have been acting for a man. Let me now tell you, after making this appeal to you, that most of the candidates before this Convention are unknown to me. It is well known, I believe, that I opposed the nomination of one who I apprehend is the favorite of most of the gentlemen here. Why have I done so? From personal feelings? Why, I have never seen the gentleman. I never met him; and I am happy to stand here and say I never heard one word against him—not one solitary word. [Cheers.] If the Convention nominate him, I do not care what the divisions may be among you, I am the man to get up and move that we unanimously take him as our standard-bearer. [Loud cheers.] All I ask of gentlemen is, to do what we have been sent here for—to interchange public opinion. Have we got anything to give? How have we been heretofore? I have been in conventions before,

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and we have always had something to give. We thought it fair and just to strive to get A, B, C, or D, upon whom we thought to confer something. It is not so now. All our interchange of opinion may be public; and I may say that we have nothing on God's earth to give. But we are looking for a man who will give us, and who will give the country something, and that something is success. Why is it there is no one among you to-day to raise the name of Wm. H. Seward? [Loud cheers.] It is because they who are the most devoted of his friends love their country better than any man. All men have said "We love him; he is the best representative of our principles!" Yes, but because we are told he cannot carry Pennsylvania, we at once sacrifice him upon the altar of opposition. [Cheers.] Then, if gentlemen ask us in the same breath to take a man who is no stranger to Pennsylvania, we may say that justice to our friends, and justice to our principles will require us to make no such sacrifice. I make these remarks simply for the purpose of demonstrating that we of New York, and of all parts of the country, have one common object—and that is, success; and that we can arrive at success by a free interchange of opinion, to obtain which we should defer to a later hour, and a better hour, and after more conference, an informal ballot.

Gov. Kent, of Maine, said:

I rise to speak simply to the question before the Convention. I think I perceive a determination on the part of the Convention to go immediately into an informal ballot. I am not going to reply to the gentleman who has just taken his seat; I agree with him, because I know that the Maine delegation requires more time. I think no harm can come from a short delay. We have not had sufficient time for conversation, and I had thought it might be well for us before going into a nomination to have a grand conference committee, consisting of two from each delegation, [cries of "No! no!"] for the purpose of seeing exactly how they stand, and what action will best tend to secure success. We have come here for the purpose of uniting all, for a common object—against the encroachments of slavery. [Applause.] If we would succeed, we must unite all; and to do that it is absolutely necessary that in making choice of a standard-bearer, we should make such a selection as will secure the greatest amount of support. I think, therefore, that it would be well to have a concurrence.

Gov. Kent then offered the following resolution as a substitute for the resolution of the member from New York:

Resolved: That a committee of three from each State and one from each Territory be appointed by the several State and Territorial delegations, for the purpose of meeting in general conference for interchange of opinion, this afternoon, and that the balloting for candidates for President and Vice-President be postponed until Thursday morning.

Mr. A. J. Bleecker, of New York, said if they waited until to-morrow before balloting, a large number of delegates would have gone home, and they would not secure so large an expression.

Dr. Elder, of Pennsylvania, arose and said:

He had stood in the storm before. He had stood beside John Van Buren in '48, [laughter,] and they overbore their opponents by the might of their right. The excitement was no evidence of

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disunion; it was only the effervescence of a mighty movement for harmony. They must harmonize. Any delegate who could not abide by the will of the Convention was, in the words of Mantalina, "So demm'd that he couldn't be any demm'der." [Great applause.] He confessed that he did not understand exactly what was wanted by some of the delegations. And therefore he thought it would be well that they should have a conference.

Mr. Charles F. Adams, of Massachusetts, desired to say a word. He said:

I have listened to this discussion, Mr. President, with a great deal of apprehension and a great deal of pain. I came here to contribute my mite to the harmony of this Convention. He would ask members to consider that the enemy was listening and working, and that if they would succeed they must act with care. Of the resolutions which had been read, he had no more to say than that they suited him. They had adopted them with great unanimity, and he feared that any general conference, such as had been proposed, would tend to confusion rather than harmony. He would have them hold conferences out of Convention, and when they came in, to confine themselves to action as much as possible. [Applause.] He believed that the members fresh from the people knew better what the people wanted than when they had been living from home. They were liable to certain manipulations, when long absent, which sometimes caused them to forget the wishes of those who sent them. He was therefore in favor of proceeding to ballot immediately.

[The speaker retired amid loud cries of "Question! Question!"]

Judge Spaulding, of Ohio, said:

He wished that a conference could be had, in order that greater unanimity might prevail. There had been several important changes during the forenoon, and he thought a conference was necessary before proceeding to ballot.

Mr. Root, of Ohio, also spoke upon the question. A motion was then made to adjourn.

Gov. Ritner, of Pennsylvania, wished the motion withdrawn for a moment, and it was withdrawn. After which he remarked that while he believed Pennsylvania stood erect, she was now well represented in Congress with reference to the black spirit of slavery; and while he was satisfied with what had been done, he thought something might be gained by delay—by meetings of the various delegations. For himself, he had no other desire than that the Convention should take strong ground in opposition to the extension of slavery. [Applause.]

Gov. Patterson, of New York, said he understood the question before the house to be that they should proceed to an informal ballot. He was informed that the question was on the proposal for a conference. The Governor, continuing, said he supposed it was on the adoption of a resolution to proceed to an informal ballot, but he had but a few words to say. He would say that there was a name whose nomination by the Convention would not only gratify the New York delegation, but the people of the state.

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He alluded to Hon. William H. Seward. [Great applause.] In the intercourse we have had as delegates from New York, they had with one united voice declared in favor of William H. Seward for a candidate for the Presidency. [Great applause.] Nothing would have given the State of New York more pleasure than to do honor to her favorite son—a son who had done good service as governor of the state, and as a senator in the Senate of the United States. But he had been requested to withdraw his name.

Gen. Webb, of New York—"Not by Wm. H. Seward."

The Speaker—Yes, by a delegation—not by Mr. Seward himself. But the delegation took that course with a view to show that they were willing to sacrifice all for the cause in which they had engaged.

Mr. Butler, of Pennsylvania, called for the question on the adoption of the resolution for the appointment of a Committee of Conference, offered as a substitute for the original resolution, and the question having been taken on the resolution, the same was lost.

The question then recurring on the original resolution of Mr. Seeley, of New York, to proceed immediately to an informal ballot for a candidate for President, the same was adopted.

Judge Spaulding, of Ohio, then took the floor, and said that he had been requested to withdraw from the present controversy the name of a man whom he had intimately known for forty years, than whom a better and a purer man did not live. [Cheers.] He would, however, first read the letter he had received from the gentleman himself.

Judge Spaulding then read the subjoined letter from Judge McLean:

CHAPEL WOOD, June 14, 1856.

Hon. H. P. Spaulding and others, Delegates from Ohio to the Republican Convention at Philadelphia:—I have repeatedly declared, as some of you know, that I have no desire for the Presidency, and that I prefer my present position on the Bench. From the partial estimate of my services and long experience in public affairs, my friends have supposed that I might be able to contribute somewhat to the adjustment of the exciting questions which now agitate the public mind and threaten a dissolution of the Union. This consideration was presented to me as a reason why I should not refuse to permit my name to be used, with the names of others, for the office of Chief Magistrate; at least, so far as to ascertain some indication of the public opinion; and I consented, with the understanding that I might withdraw it, at any time, without any imputation of unkindness to my friends.

I feel, as I ought, the high responsibility, the firmness and the wisdom required to discharge successfully so momentous a trust as the chief executive office at the present crisis; and I am brought to distrust my poor abilities for so eminent a charge.

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But my mind has been made up, that, if elected, I would reform the government, and rest the executive power on the great principles of the Constitution, or fail in the attempt. On no other condition could I accept the office of President. This involves no sectionalism, except that which arises from the independence of State government, and the fundamental law of the Union.

The time has arrived when a nomination is to be made for President. I perceive several names are to be brought before the Convention for that high office; and I desire to say to my friends that to accomplish the object above expressod, will require a hearty and vigorous co-operation of all the elements of the party about to make the nominations; and, if these shall be likely to combine more strongly in favor of any other person, I wish my friends to withdraw my name, without a struggle in the Convention. In such an event, I shall have done all that can be required of a citizen, and I shall feel no reproach.

With sentiments of the highest esteem and obligation, I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant. JOHN McLEAN.

Judge Spaulding said that, with the discretion vested in him by that letter he would withdraw the name of Judge McLean from the canvass.

Mr. T. G. Mitchell, of Ohio, said he had another communication to read.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, said that, after what had taken place, it was much desired by Pennsylvania that her delegates should have an hour for consultation.

The President declared any debate out of order; but, if the Convention chose to hear those letters, they had a right to hear them. Mr. Mitchell prefaced the letter with some remarks, in the course of which he referred to all the candidates. The names of Fremont and Seward were loudly cheered.

The letter was as follows:

COLUMBUS, Thursday, June 12, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR—As you will attend the Convention about to assemble at Philadelphia, for the nomination of candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, and as it is possible that some friends of our cause, in common with yourself, will desire to submit my name to the Convention in connection with the first of these offices, it seems proper that I should explain to you, briefly, but clearly, my own views in relation to the matter.

I need not say that I should regard a nomination for so distinguished a position, by such a Convention as that which will assemble on the 17th, as an honor not to be easily overvalued. But no one, perhaps, knows better than yourself how persistently and earnestly the labors of my political life have ever been directed to the promotion of the cause of Freedom, Progress and Reform, of which, I trust, the Convention will prove itself a faithful guardian. The success of that cause is infinitely dearer to me than any personal advancement, and I should look upon any nomination for any office, however exalted, if prejudicial to it, as a calamity to be dreaded and avoided, rather than as a distinction to be sought and desired. At the present crisis especially, when the policy of Slavery propagandism, adopted by the existing

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Administration, has been formally sanctioned by the platform of the Convention recently assembled at Cincinnati; when the Free State of Kansas, demanding admission into the Union, is repelled by a party majority, acting under the dictation of the Slave power, and when the cries of our Free-State brethren in Kansas, insulted oppressed, despoiled, imprisoned, and in imminent jeopardy of life as well as liberty, are appealing to us for help, it would ill become any true friend of liberty and justice to allow any personal considerations whatever to stand in the way of that complete union which is essential to the redress of these wrongs.

I trust, therefore, that those generous friends who have been thinking of presenting my name to the convention, will consider well the effect of such action upon our common cause. If, after duly weighing all circumstances, they come to the conclusion that, under existing conditions, the cause will receive detriment through my nomination, I desire that my name may be withheld altogether from the Convention. If they come to a different conclusion, and determine to present my name, let it be distinctly understood, as my earnest wish, that it may be at once withdrawn whenever it shall become manifest that the nomination of some other citizen will better unite the friends of Freedom, and more certainly secure the establishment of our principles.

I shall trust to your friendship for making these views known to our friends, especially in the Ohio delegation, and, should the occasion arise for it, to the Convention. I shall cheerfully abide any action, which, upon consultation with our friends, you may think it best to take.

Faithfully yours,

S. P. CHASE.

Mr. Mitchell continued by saying that the occasion had now arisen when some of the friende of Mr. Chase, through him as their mouth-piece, took the liberty of withdrawing his name from the canvass. [Loud and reiterated cheers.]

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, desired to say a word.

The consent of the Convention was given.

Mr. Stevens said he had but one single word to say. He saw what the current of the Convention was, and he did not desire to oppose it; but he would ask them to be careful that the current did not sweep away their friends as well as their foes. The name, he might say the only name, which could have saved Pennsylvania, had been withdrawn. He meant the name of Judge McLean —[cries of "No, no, not withdrawn!"]—and he feared that in consequence of that they would lose Pennsylvania by 50,000 majority. [Cries of "No! no!"] Not that he would not vote with the party, but because he knew there were a very large number who were dissatisfied.

Mr. Moses H. Grinnell, of New York said:

I do not rise before you at this hour to make a speech, but my heart is full of the cause, and I desire that we should act for the best. I am satisfied that the excitement we have had is but a surface excitement, which will do no harm; and I am satisfied that a short conference would result in good; and, for the purpose of giving time for consultation—especially with the Pennsylvanians —I move that the Convention take a recess until five o'clock this afternoon.

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On taking the question upon the motion for a recess until five o'clock this afternoon, the same was adopted, and the Convention took a recess until five o'clock this afternoon.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention reassembled at five o'clock in the afternoon.

The President, Hon. Henry S. Lane, in the chair.

The President announced that he had in his hand a letter from a committee of the National American Convention, now in session in the city of New York, addressed to Mr. Edwin D. Morgan, Chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee, relative to measures tending to concert of action between the two Conventions, designed to be communicated to this Convention, and asked what was the pleasure of the Convention with respect to the same.

On motion, the letter was read by Mr. Edwin D. Morgan, as follows:

NEW YORK, June 17, 1856.

Hon. E. D. Morgan, Chairman National Executive Committee:

SIR:—The committee appointed by the National American Convention, to confer with the Convention which meets to-day in Philadelphia, upon candidates to be presented for the offices of President and Vice-President, take pleasure in transmitting to you a copy of the proceedings of the National Convention upon the letter addressed to said convention, through its president, by yourself.

The committee transmit also a copy of the letter from yourself, with the request that said copy, together with the copy of the proceedings had thereon by the National American Convention, may be laid before the convention which assembles this day in Philadelphia.

The committee take this opportunity to say that they cannot doubt that the spirit of candor, conciliation and harmony which dictated the letter from yourself to the National American Convention, and which has been responded to in the same spirit with a perfect unanimity of sentiment, will also be responded to in the same spirit by the convention at Philadelphia, and that its effect will be to give joy to the heart of every lover of freedom throughout the land, and strike terror to the hearts of his enemies.

Very respectfully, GEORGE LAW.

WILDER S. THURSTON, Secretary.

Mr. De Witt C. Littlejohn, of New York, upon the subject of this communication, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the communication just read from a committee of the National American Convention, with the papers accompanying the same, be received by this convention, and that the same be referred to a committee, to consist of one member from each state represented, to report what action, in their judgment, ought to be taken by this convention thereupon.

Mr. Littlejohn said that he was strongly in favor of a union with all the friends of freedom. He believed the North American Convention was actuated by the same feelings that warmed the Re-

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publican Convention. It was but right that that great party represented by the North American Convention should have one candidate on the ticket nominated by the Republican Convention.

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, said it pained him to be compelled to oppose the motion. The convention had invited all to come in who were opposed to the present administration. If a committee were appointed to communicate with the North Americans, he should wish the committee appointed to confer also with conventions or other bodies representing citizens of foreign birth. He could not believe that the Chairman of the National Committee was authorized to open any such communication. He was there to speak for the citizens of the United States—of German or other foreign origin, as well as for those born on the soil of the United States. He therefore moved that the whole subject do lie upon the table.

Upon taking the question upon the motion to lie upon the table, the same passed in the affirmative.

The President declared the business now in order, to be pursuant to the resolution adopted this morning, to proceed to take an informal vote for a Republican candidate for President of the United States.

Judge Spaulding, of Ohio, by general consent, announced that he withdrew the withdrawal this morning made by him, of the name of Judge McLean, of Ohio, as a candidate for President.

The President appointed the Hon. Edwin B. Morgan, of New York, and Mr. Thomas Scott, of Indiana, tellers to take the vote.

Upon calling the States, the informal vote resulted as follows:

		Fremont.	McLean.	Banks.	Sumner.	Seward.
8	Maine	13	11	..	..	..
5	New Hampshire	15	14	..	..	..
5	Vermont	15	..	..	..	..
13	Massachusetts	39	..	..	..	..
4	Rhode Island	12	..	..	..	..
6	Connecticut	18	..	..	..	..
35	New York	93	3	1	2	1
7	New Jersey	7	14	..	..	..
27	Pennsylvania	10	71	..	..	..
3	Delaware	..	9	..	..	..
8	Maryland	4	3	..	..	..
15	Virginia	..	..	..	..	..
12	Kentucky	5	..	..	..	..
23	Ohio	30	39	..	..	..
13	Indiana	18	21	..	..	..
11	Illinois	14	19	..	..	.
6	Michigan	18	..	..	..	..
4	Iowa	12	..	..	..	..
5	Wisconsin	15	..	..	..	..
4	California	12	..	..	..	..
3	Kansas	9	..	..	..	..

By way of commentary on the ballots respectively cast as above, several delegates stated the motives by which they were influenced, and the instructions which they had received from their constituents.

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A delegate from Michigan stated that her people had for their first choice the noble son of New York, whose name had been withdrawn—Mr. Seward; but they were glad to cast their vote for the man Fremont who was—who was obviously the choice of the Convention. [Cheers.]

Wisconsin stated that her first vote was to have been cast for Mr. Seward, the second for Mr. Chase, and the third for Mr. Sumner; but those gentlemen being withdrawn, she willingly concurred in the general sentiment of the Convention by voting for Fremont. [Cheers.]

When Kentucky was called, one of her representatives said that the name of that noble son of a noble State—Salmon P. Chase—being withdrawn, she would cast her vote like the rest for John C. Fremont. [Cheers.]

Before the vote was completed, a delegate moved that the nomination of John C. Fremont be made unanimous.

The President—That motion will be in order when the vote is announced.

Several other gentlemen made the same motion, and with the same effect.

The voting was then proceeded with, and the sum of the votes was announced by the tellers amid thunders of cheers as follows:

For John C. Fremont, of California	359 votes.
For John McLean, of Ohio	190 votes.
For Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts	1 vote.
For Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts	2 votes.
For William H. Seward, of New York	1 vote.

Gen. James W. Webb, of New York, offered the following resolution:

Resolved. That John C. Fremont, of California, be, and he hereby is, unanimously nominated by this Convention by acclamation, as the Republican candidate for President of the Uni ed States.

Gen. Webb said, he thought there could be no difference of opinion with regard to what had been the sentiment of the Convention. When they did him the honor to listen to him this morning, he made a pledge which he was now very happy to redeem. This vote was informal. But if he could understand anything of the sentiment about him, it was intended to go into a formal vote merely for its formality. The same great cause, be he who he may, who was to carry their banner, was dear to the heart of every man here. [Cheers.] Undoubtedly they had come to this Convention to express their judgments in the earnest way that their feelings or their convictions may have prompted. And he for one felt that he had discharged his duty to his constituents and he was willing to accord to every man that he, too, had, according to the best of his judgment, discharged what he deemed to be his duty to his constituents and his duty to his country.

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That being the case, the next thing to be done was to do unanimously that which a majority had determined upon. [Loud cheers.] And, as their principles were universal and their intentions honest, so let their motives be pure and their purpose unanimous. Let them proclaim to the world that they swore by their principles and by their platform; and having placed J. C. Fremont on that platform, I entreat of the convention to give him an unanimous vote. [Loud cheers]

Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, succeeded in catching his eye, and obtaining silence. He said if he could add anything to the very excellent remarks of the gentleman from New York, he would express his desire that they should present to the country the greatest possible unanimity in this nomination. He had not a doubt in his own mind that the vote which was here given as indicative of the feeling of this convention, was the honest sentiment of the country. [Cheers.] He attributed to every delegate on this floor the same purity of purpose, the same earnest desire to accomplish the great objects for which the Republican party was organized, that he claimed for himself, and he concurred most cheerfully in the nomination which had been indicated by the informal ballot. It did seem to him that it was not necessary to go into a formal ballot. [Shouts of "No, no!" "Yes, yes!"]

A voice—Let us stand right on the record.

Mr. Wilmot—If gentlemen are desirous of being right, as they say, on the record, then let us go on with a formal vote.

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, here rose, and in reference to the motion he had made at the opening of the afternoon session, to lay the communication from the North American Convention on the table, said he had made that motion from a serious conviction that they, (the Republicans,) as a great party, should hold no association, make no terms, have no arrangement, and enter into no understanding with any other political party. [Loud applause; cries of "Good!"] He felt that was a course which they owed to themselves to follow. They had held out to the whole people, of every complexion of political sentiment, that while each entertained its distinctive views in other respects, they all could unite with the Republican party in this great cause of freedom. He made the motion, therefore, as feeling that the course he suggested was one the adoption of which he believed to be due to themselves and to the party they represented. His friends on all hands, however, said that he was wrong, and desired that he should move a reconsideration of his motion. [Cheers, and cries of "No, no!"] It was against the convictions of his own judgment to do so; but in obedience to the conviction of his friends who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of the act, he would move the convention to suspend the present order of busi-

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ness, to enable him to make a motion to reconsider the vote, laying on the table the subject of the communication from the National American Convention.

The motion to suspend the present order of business was agreed to, and the question being on the motion to reconsider—

Mr. Littlejohn, of New York, arose and said, he believed the question before the convention was the motion to reconsider. Any one who had heard anything about the last election of Wm. H. Seward to the senate of the United States, knew that he (the speaker) had sacrificed a great deal in working against the Know-Nothing party, and he could now assure them that he was willing to sacrifice himself—he was willing to sacrifice William H. Seward. [Applause.] He did not propose to receive the communication because he had any particular sympathy with the Know-Nothings, but because he believed that if they did not co-operate, James Buchanan would be elected. He believed the interests of the Republican party required co-operation with the North Americans. And as the convention he was addressing was the most intelligent that had ever congregated, he believed they would see the propriety of treating the communication with all respect. It was certainly entitled to it. It had been said that they did not wish to exclude foreigners. Certainly not. If any body of foreign born citizens had sent in such a communication as that which had been sent by the North Americans, or any communications expressing a desire to co-operate for the sake of the success of freedom's cause, it would have been received, and with pleasure. [Applause]. In conclusion, he urged the reception of the communication and its reference to a proper committee.

Mr. Thomas D. Elliott, of Massachusetts, said he had just had the pleasure of giving the united State of Massachusetts for John C. Fremont, and he hoped nothing would be done by the the Convention to lessen the strength of the Republican party in Massachusetts. They had invited the North Americans to unite with them; and now that they had responded, it was only proper that they should be treated with courtesy. He would receive them with favor, because he believed they were actuated by the same desire for freedom that actuated the Convention he was then addressing. If the Convention would receive them with the favor they were entitled to, the whole North would be Republican. [Applause.]

Ex-Governor Cleveland, of Connecticut, said he thought the Convention could afford a few moments' time now, rather than suffer the taunts of their enemies after a defeat next November. The North American Convention, which was in session in New York, was composed of delegates from those who had seceded from the Know-Nothing Convention, when it endeavored to force

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a Pro-Slavery platform upon them—showing thereby that they cared more for Freedom than for party. [Applause.] He differed with his friend, Mr. Giddings, with reference to the propriety of his call for a reconsideration of the vote tabling the communication. He thought he had done his duty, and an important duty too. [Applause.] The Convention had invited them—they had responded to it, and it was the duty of the Convention to receive them. [Applause.] It was a question of vast importance to New England, and it should not be settled too hastily. It had been said that if a communication had been sent in by any body of foreign born citizens it would have been received. The North Americans had no objection to that; and why was it that a body of foreign born citizens should receive greater favor than native born Americans? [Applause.] In conclusion, he hoped the motion to reconsider would prevail.

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, wished to say that the Convention had not invited them. The communication had been sent by the President of the National Executive Committee, and he hoped it had been received by him with due courtesy. The Convention had not asked any set of men to come as an organized body. It had asked them to come as individuals, and unite for Freedom. [Applause.] And he could tell the Convention that, if the North Americans were received as an organized body of Know-Nothings, that demagogue, Stephen A. Douglas, would tickle the senses of the foreign born citizens of Illinois, and Illinois would be lost. Let the North Americans come in as individuals, because of their interest for Freedom, and Illinois would be saved. [Applause.]

Mr. Gazzam, of Pennsylvania, wished to do the American party of Pennsylvania the justice to say that they had become an open party, and that they constituted the great bulk of the Republican party in the state. Some of them were delegates to the North American Convention at New York, and they were good Republicans. He hoped the motion to reconsider would prevail.

Judge Hoar, of Massachusetts, said the Convention had already received a delegation from a council of One Hundred in New York, and he hoped the communication from the North Americans would also be received with favor, for he believed they were sincere lovers of the cause of freedom.

Mr. Sherwood, of New York, said it was with great reluctance that he appeared before them. But the North Americans had been invited by the President of the National Committee to cooperate with the Republicans, and to refuse them when they came would be like inviting a man to dine, and kicking him out when he reached the dining-room. [Applause.] A committee from the North American Convention had come to them, for the

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purpose of seeing their platform, and to confer about the nominations, with the view to seeing whether they could not agree, and he earnestly desired that they might. [Applause.]

Ex-Governor Ritner, of Pennsylvania, came forward while there was considerable confusion, and, when order had been restored, said that he wished to tell them that he was going to put his shoulder to the wheel, and do all he could for freedom. If his efforts could elect John C. Fremont, John C. Fremont should have them.

The old gentlemen's remarks were received with great applause; and, when he had taken his seat, the question being taken on the motion to reconsider, the same was adopted; and the question recurring on the resolution of Mr. Littlejohn, of New York, to receive the communication from the National American Convention, and refer the same to a committee to consist of one delegate from each State—

Mr. Root, of Ohio, moved to amend the resolution, by striking out the words "a committee to consist of one member from each State represented," and inserting, in their place, the words "the committee of this Convention on the Republican Platform," which amendment was adopted; and, on taking the question upon the resolution, as amended, the same was adopted.

The previous order of business being resumed, on motion, the resolution of General Webb was amended so as to read as follows:

Resolved, That this Convention do immediately proceed to take a formal vote for a Republican candidate for President of the United States.

And, as thus amended, the same was adopted.

The tellers on the former vote having been re-appointed, on calling the States, the formal vote resulted as follows:

		Fremont.	McLean.	Seward.
8	Maine	24	..	..
	New Hampshire	15	..	..
5	Vermont	15	..	..
13	Massachusetts	39	..	..
4	Rhode Island	12	..	..
6	Connecticut	18	..	..
35	New York	105	..	..
7	New Jersey	21	..	..
27	Pennsylvania	57	23	1
3	Delaware	9	..	..
8	Maryland	7	..	..
15	Virginia	..	..	..
12	Kentucky	5	..	..
23	Ohio	55	14	..
13	Indiana	39	..	..
11	Illinois	33	..	..
6	Michigan	18	..	..
4	Iowa	12	..	..
5	Wisconsin	15	..	..
4	California	12	..	..
3	Kansas	9	..	..

The result of the vote was announced by the tellers as follows:

For John C. Fremont, of California ..... 520 votes.
For John McLean, of Ohio ..... 37 votes.
For William H. Seward, of New York ..... 1 vote.

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Gen. J. W. Webb, of New York, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention do unanimously nominate John C. Fremont, of California, to be the Republican candidate for President of the United States, at the ensuing election.

The President said all who were in favor of that would signify the same by giving three hearty cheers, and they were given lustily, and three more, and a great many after that. A scene of wild and boundless enthusiasm ensued, baffling all description.

The Convention arose in a body, took off their hats and waved them, shouting all the while.

On the platform, as soon as the vote was declared, a large white banner was raised with "John C. Fremont, for President of the United States," upon it. In front of the platform there was raised a star-spangled banner, with a similar inscription.

Banners were also displayed from the windows to notify outsiders, and the shouts within the hall were caught up and echoed by the crowd in the streets.

As soon as the wild enthusiasm of the Convention could be somewhat subdued, Hon. John Allison's name was mentioned. He declined speaking, however, but said it was not because he would be understood as being inclined to injure the cause in which they all had an interest. He had earnestly desired the nomination of as pure a patriot and as capable a man to fill the Presidential chair as there was in the land—Judge McLean. He believed he was the man to restore the country to happiness and harmony; but other counsels had prevailed; nevertheless, although he felt grievously disappointed, he would not be understood as wavering. He believed this was a time which required every man to do his duty, and he meant to do his. [Applause.] His record was clear for freedom, and by the help of God it would continue to be so. [Applause.]

When Mr. Allison had concluded, and after everybody had become hoarse with cheering, Judge Emmet, of New York, moved that the Convention adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, which was carried, and the Convention accordingly adjourned until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

PHILADELPHIA, Thursday, 19th June, 1856.

The Convention re-assembled this morning at ten o'clock.

The President, Hon. Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, in the chair.

The Rev. Mr. Levy, of Philadelphia, opened the proceedings with prayer.

On motion, the reading of the journal of the proceedings of yesterday was dispensed with.

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Mr. Charles C. Leigh, of New York, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a National Convention of the young men of the nation, favorable to the principles of Free Speech, Free Soil, Free Men and Fremont, be held in the city of New York, in the month of September, under the call of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. Edward W. Whelpley, of New Jersey, offered the following resolution;

Resolved, That this Convention do immediately proceed to take an informal vote for a candidate for Vice-President of the United States, to be supported by the Republican party at the ensuing election. Which resolution was adopted.

Mr. Whelpley proposed the name of Hon. William L. Dayton, of the same State, as candidate for the Vice-Presidency, amid loud and reiterated cheering. With the consent of the Convention, he read the speech of Mr. Dayton, delivered at a recent Republican Convention over which he was called to preside, which (the speech) contained an endorsement of the sentiments of the Convention as to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the character of the present administration. He read as follows:

"After thanking the Convention for the honor done him in his election as its President, he was glad to meet men of all parties assembled for the purpose of uniting in a movement to redeem the State and Nation from political ruin. The debt of New Jersey has been swelled by mismanagement until it has quite reached almost the limit fixed by our Constitution. The present National Administration was installed under circumstances of peace and prosperity. But now there is strife and bloodshed and rapine, and freedom of speech is stricken down in the Senate. This has been foreseen since 1850, and is the result of the domineering spirit of slavery. He then reviewed the history and progress of the slave aggression, and pointed out the various submissions and compromises which the North has consented to for Southern advantage. Extensive territory has been added to this confederacy which was stamped all over with Freedom. A portion of it has already been blackened by Slavery. The last compromise it was said healed the five bleeding wounds, and all was to be peaceful when Pierce commenced his administration. The lion and the lamb laid down together, but only long enough for the one to get the other by the throat. The South, aided by Northern doughfaces, has abrogated the Missouri Compromise, and opened again this strife in our country. We may not be able to restore the Missouri Compromise, but an Executive and a Congress may be elected that will practically give effect to that enactment. He contended that Freedom is national and Slavery sectional. Slavery is supported only by positive law. The Constitution protects Slavery where it is, but it carries it nowhere. In conclusion, he urged harmonious action among the opponents of the present State and National Administrations. If this is effected, it is of little consequence who may come out of the Cincinnati Convention; whether it be Pierce or Douglas, or even Buchanan—who, it will be remembered, said that he had not a drop of Democratic blood in his veins. If we are united we can vanquish our opponents." [His speech was warmly applauded throughout.]

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Mr. Allison, in continuation, said he had been requested to nominate as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. [Cheers.] He knew him to be the prince of good fellows, and an Old-Line Whig. [Cheers.]

Col. Wm. B. Archer said he would not detain the Convention but a moment. He had been acquainted with the man who had been named for 30 years. He had lived in Illinois 40 years. He had gone there when Illinois was a Territory, and had lived there until it had grown to be a populous and flourishing State. During thirty years of that time, he had known Abraham Lincoln, and he knew him well. He was born in gallant Kentucky, and was now in the prime of life—just about 55 years of age—and enjoying remarkably good health. [Applause.] And, besides, the speaker knew him to be as pure a patriot as ever lived. He would give the Convention to understand, that with him on the ticket, there was no danger of Northern Illinois. Illinois was safe with him, and he believed she was safe without him. [Laughter.] With him, however, she was doubly safe.

Judge Spaulding, of Ohio—"Can he fight?"

The Speaker—(Emphatically)—Yes! [Great applause.] Have I not told you that he was born in Kentucky? [Applause.] He's strong mentally—he's strong physically—he's strong every way.

Mr. Jay, of New Jersey, said he was an Old-Line Democrat. He had always been a Democrat, until the present Administration, having thrown aside Democratic principles, he could remain with the party no longer. He had helped to elect Pierce, for which he hoped to be forgiven. [Applause.] With Dayton, of New Jersey, on the ticket with Fremont, he could work faithfully for its success, and he believed New Jersey would ratify the nominations with a large majority. He was not opposed to Judge Wilmot; he was a good man; but, then, was it policy to nominate him? They had nominated one who had been a Democrat for the Presidency, and he thought it would be well to nominate a Whig for the Vice-Presidency.

Mr. Fisher, of Pennsylvania, said, I take the liberty of naming a man as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, who is a tower of strength in Pennsylvania; I mean David L. Wilmot. If you nominate him, I have no doubt about Pennsylvania. If you nominate him, I have no doubt Pennsylvania will ratify your nominations in November.

Hon. John Allison, of Pennsylvania, moved that the present order of business be suspended, to enable him to present to the Convention certain proceedings of the Pennsylvania State Republican Convention.

The motion was carried in the affirmative, and Mr. Allison read to the Convention the following communication:

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At a meeting of the Pennsylvania State Republican Convention, held in the Musical Fund Hall, Philadelphia, June 18, 1856, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

Resolved, That the principles declared in resolutions constituting the platform of the National Republican Party, as adopted by its National Convention this day, meet the cordial approval, and will receive the hearty advocacy of the members of this State Convention.

Resolved, That this State Convention hereby give its earnest assent to the nomination this day made by the National Convention of Col. John C. Fremont, as candidate of the party for the Presidency, and promise for him our united and most hearty support.

Resolved, That the President of this State Convention be requested to communicate these resolutions to the National Republican Convention.

JOHN ALLISON,
Prest.

Attest,
J. R. FRY.

The communication was received with the greatest applause, and, on motion, the same was ordered on file, to be inserted in the Journal.

Hon. Judge Palmer, of Illinois, said:

I rise, like my friend from New Jersey. I, too, have been an Old-Line Democrat, and am very sorry for my last vote. [Applause.] I rise to second the presentation of the name of Abraham Lincoln for the Vice-Presidency. I have known him long, and I know he is a good man and a hard worker in the field, although I never heard him—for when he was on the stump, I always dodged. He is my first choice; Dayton, of New Jersey, is the next, and David Wilmot is the next. I admire Judge Wilmot, and I am going to name my next boy after him. [Laughter and applause.] We can lick Buchanan any way, but I think we can do it a little easier if we have Lincoln on the ticket with John C. Fremont.

Mr. Elliot, of Massachusetts, said he had received a dispatch from Massachusetts concerning the feeling there about the nomination, which he would read if the Convention wished to hear it. [Cries of "Read it! read it!"] He read as follows:

"Great rejoicing. Give us a good Vice-President. Clear the track!"

The dispatch was received with cheers, and when order had been restored, Mr. Anthony J. Bleecker, of New York, rose and presented the name of John A. King, for the Vice-Presidency.

Hon. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, moved to suspend the present order of business to enable him to bring in a report from the Committee on the Platform, upon the subject of the communication received yesterday from the National American Convention, and referred to that committee.

The motion passed in the affirmative, and Mr. Wilmot presented the following report:

The committee to which was referred the communication from the Convention assembled in the city of New York, have given to that communication respectful and deliberate consideration.

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Your committee have had a full and free conference with the committee appointed by that convention. The committees came to no arrangement or conclusion.

The call for this Convention was addressed to all political parties, and consistently with this call the communication under consideration originated. Your committee deem that it ought to be respectfully responded to, and would recommend that a committee be appointed to address all the parties of the country, with a view to elucidate the principles of action and to conciliate them to the great object to which the labors of this Convention have been devoted.

Resolved: That a committee of three be appointed by the Chair to prepare such address.

D. WILMOT, Chairman on Resolutions.

On motion, the report was accepted, and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

And the President appointed the following gentlemen to constitute the committee provided for by the resolution: Francis P. Blair, of Maryland; Mr. G. T. Brown, of Illinois; Hon. Elbridge G. Spaulding, of New York.

The President then announced that an informal vote for a Republican candidate for Vice-President was the business now in order before the Convention, and appointed as tellers to take such vote Col. William B. Archer, of Illinois, and Judge Spaulding, of Ohio.

On calling the States, the informal vote for a candidate for Vice-President resulted as follows:

STATES.	William L. Dayton.	Nathaniel P. Banks.	Abraham Lincoln.	David Wilmot.	John A. King.	Charles Sumner.	Ford.	Cassius M. Clay.	Jacob Collamer.	Joshua R. Giddings.	Whitfield S. Johnson.	H. C. Carey.	Aaron S. Pennington.	Henry Wilson.	Samuel C. Pomeroy.
8 Maine	20	....	1	...	....	1	1	1	..	....	....	....	..	...	....
5 New Hampshire	7	....	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
5 Vermont	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15	....	....	....	....	....	....
13 Massachusetts	25	...	7	2	....	....	....	....	....	2	2	....	....	....	....
4 Rhode Island	8	1	2	...	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
6 Connecticut	1	17	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
35 New York	15	24	3	1	9	30	6	1	....	....	....	....	1	....	...
7 New Jersey	21	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	..
27 Pennsylvania	28	...	11	31	...	2	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	1	....
3 Delaware	9	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
8 Maryland	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
15 Virginia	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
12 Kentucky	..	..	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	....
23 Ohio	65	....	2	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
13 Indiana	13	....	26	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
11 Illinois	..	....	33	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
6 Michigan	13	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
4 Iowa	7	4	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
5 Wisconsin	15	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
4 California	...	....	12	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
3 Kansas	...	....	....	....	..	....	....	1	....	..	....	....	....	....	3

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The tellers announced the result of the informal vote for a candidate for Vice-President as follows:

For William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, 253 votes; Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, 46; Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, 110; David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, 43; John A. King, of New York, 9; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, 35; Lieut.-Governor Thomas Ford, of Ohio, 7; Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, 3; Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, 15; Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, 2; Whitefield S. Johnson, of New Jersey, 2; Henry C. Carey, of Pennsylvania, 3; Aaron S. Pennington, of New Jersey, 1; Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, 2; Gen. Samuel C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, 8.

WITHDRAWAL OF SUMNER, BANKS AND WILSON.

Mr. Elliot, of Massachusetts, said he had a communication to make from the delegates of that State. Several of freedom's sons in Massachusetts had been named in connection with this office —The Vice-Presidency. He desired to be allowed to state in respect to each of them, how, so far as the delegates could represent the feelings of Massachusetts, that Commonwealth and those individuals stand. At a meeting of the delegates from Masssachusetts, at an early period during the sittings of this Convention, a vote was taken on the subject of the Vice-Presidency, which showed a unanimous preference for her noble and distinguished son, N. P. Banks, Jr. At that moment, a townsman—an authorized agent and friend of Mr. Banks—stated to the delegation peremptorily, that, under no circumstances would Mr. Banks consent, in the present state of affairs, that his name should be used in connection with that office. Since then, a communication had been received from Mr. Banks, by telegraph, in which he said: "Do not allow my name to be used for Vice-President."

The State of Massachusetts wanted, as the whole country wanted, the services of Mr. Banks in his present distinguished position. [Cheers.] No man could fill that office more acceptably; and he (Mr. Elliot) thought it was a cause of congratulation to them all that he (Mr. Banks), feeling as he did, determined rather to remain than to remove himself from that post of honor. He (Mr. Elliot) had it in charge, and was authorized, in behalf of Charles Sumner, to withdraw his name from before this Convention in connection with the office of Vice-President. Massachusetts could not afford to lose Charles Sumner from the floor of the Senate. [Vociferous cheers.]

A voice—"Three cheers for Sumner." [Loud and reiterated cheers.]

Mr. Elliot, heartily, Mr. President, do we thank you for this expression, not for Sumner, but for the cause. Whether he stand on the floor of the Senate to embody the eloquence and declare the rights of the North, or whether he be stricken down from his seat by a blow from the South—in either position, the Commonwealth and the North are proud of the man. [Loud cheers.] In regard, Mr. President, to another gentleman who has also been voted for—Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, [enthusiastic cheering,] he has been among us since we have been in session here; he has been seen and heard by us; and it is known all round the room that he has been using his influence in favor of a gentleman—not himself by any means—and has peremptorily declined to entertain the advances that have been made to him to allow his

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name to be put up as a candidate. I stand authorized by him to withdraw, without qualification, from the consideration of this Convention, his name also as in connection with that office. Now, sir, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts having had her free, true, noble men presented to you, and having withdrawn them, calls upon you to unite as one man in support of such a candidate as will secure to us a triumphant victory next November.

Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, arose and said: Pennsylvania has had some consultation, and has not been able to agree that it is proper for her to present any name to this Convention. If she were to present any name, it would be David Wilmot's. But Mr. Wilmot has requested me, in this doubt of Pennsylvania as to the propriety of presenting any name, to withdraw his name from the canvass, as he did not desire to be voted for at all.

Mr. Root, of Ohio, gained the ear of the President. He said: Sir, this morning I had a conversation with Governor Ford, of Ohio. Says he: "The boys may be troubling you with my name. I want to fight, but dont let them buckle a knapsack on me. I can fight better light." We can't spare Tom Ford; we want him for home consumption. That's all I have to say. [Loud cheers.]

Hon. E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, then offered the following resolution:

Resolved: That the committee do immediately proceed to take a formal vote for a Republican candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States.

The resolution was adopted, and the President appointed the same tellers as on the previous vote.

On calling the States, the result of the vote was as follows:

	Dayton.	*Lincoln.*	*Banks.*	*King.*	*Ford.*	*Sumner.*
Maine	24	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	15	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont	15	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	39	..	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	12	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	10	4	4	..	..	..
New York	81	14	..	1	1	3
New Jersey	21	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	77	2	2 scattering.			
Delaware	9	.	..	..	..	..
Maryland	6	..	.	..	..	..
Virginia	3	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	5	..	..	..	..	..
Ohio	68	..	..	..	..	..
Indiana	39	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois	33	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan	18	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	12	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	15	..	..	..	..	..
California	12	..	.	..	..	..
Kansas	9	..	..	..	..	..

After the vote of Delaware was declared, Judge Palmer, of Illinois, said:

In behalf of the delegation of the State of Illinois, I return thanks to such members of this Convention as have honored the favorite of our State with their vote. Illinois asks nothing for

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herself in this contest. She is devoted—and I trust that the result of the next election will prove that she is devoted—to the great cause that has brought us together. [Cheers.] She knew that in Abraham Lincoln we had a soldier tried and true. We offered him to the Republican party of the United States for the position that we have indicated, but we are content to prefer harmony and union to the success even of our cherished favorite. Therefore, we say to those of our friends who have honored us, we commend them to withdraw the votes thus cast for Mr. Lincoln, and give them that direction that will make the vote unanimous and harmonious for Wm. L. Dayton. [Loud applause.]

A delegate from Kentucky arose, and said Kentucky had cast a portion of her vote for Dayton, and a portion for Lincoln. They would now give all to Dayton.

The formal ballot was then proceeded with, every vote being cast for Dayton. When Kansas was called, a voice arose: "Kansas will follow manifest destiny." [Enthusiastic applause.]

Before the vote was announced, New York and Illinois delegates asked that their votes be recorded unanimously for Dayton.

A delegate from Connecticut also asked the same privilege for his State. Connecticut had heard that ever since the nomination yesterday, nothing had been heard but Yankee Doodle from here to the Rocky Mountains, and it had come back with four-fold force for a Vice-President from the Atlantic.

Dr. Gazzam, of Western Pennsylvania, rose to ask to have the vote of Pennsylvania recorded unanimously for William L. Dayton. But he was informed that one delegate had not yet made up his mind. He further said, that there was considerable difference of opinion among the delegation. While some gentlemen from the east expected to carry it by a tolerable majority, they of the west thought they could do it by twenty-five thousand majority. [Tremendous cheering.] Fremont was stronger to-day than he was yesterday, and he would be still stronger to-morrow than he was to-day. [Cheers.]

Wm. S. Pierce, Esq., the only dissenting Pennsylvania delegate, rose and withdrew his dissent.

The result of the ballot was then announced: that William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, having received all the votes cast—561—was the unanimous choice of the Convention.

When the nomination was made unanimous, the whole Convention rose and gave nine hearty cheers.

An interval of shouting, and laughing, and talking succeeded, when Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed, by the President, to constitute a Committee to inform the nominees of this Convention for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, of their nomination, and request their acceptance of the same.

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Which resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Chair appointed the following gentlemen to constitute the committee:

J. M. Ashley, of Ohio; Anthony J. Bleecker, of New York; Hon. J. C. Hornblower, of New Jersey; Judge E. R. Hoar, of Massachusetts; Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania; Gov. Kinsley S. Bingham, of Michigan; John A. Wells, of California; Gov. Chauncey F. Cleveland. of Connecticut; Cyrus Aldrich, of Illinois.

And, on motion, Col. Henry S. Lane, President of the Convention, was added to the Committee as Chairman.

Mr. Fisher, of Pennsylvania, said that a gentleman of the city had taken the sense of the hands in his manufactory—thirty-one Democrats—and they were unanimous for John C. Fremont.

Gov. Cleveland (who now took the chair), proposed that the assemblage give three cheers for the 31 Democrats of Pennsylvania who had taken this beautiful lead. [Vociferous and prolonged cheering.] That was only an indication of what they would see throughout the land. [Renewed cheers, followed by boisterous manifestations of approval and great confusion.]

Gov. Cleveland, it is due to yourselves to keep satisfactory order. These gentlemen with the pens here will report every such exhibition, and they certainly ought not to have the privilege, if they esteem it a privilege, of making it appear that we have been disorderly.

A voice—"There is no disorder in an overflow of the heart."

Gov. Cleveland, I may be allowed here to state a fact, which, doubtless, will be interesting to you. Since your action yesterday, a German newspaper—I need not name it—has come out and hoisted the flag for John C. Fremont. This goes to show you that the current has set in the right direction, and that the men or party who attempt to stop it will only be overwhelmed for their pains. [Loud cheers.]

The editor of the German paper was now loudly called for. Mr. Schneider, of Illinois, came forward.

SPEECH OF MR SCHNEIDER.

He said: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I came here, as a delegate, to represent the German population of Illinois; and I have to say, for them, that there is no people more strongly in favor of freedom than the German population of the State of Illinois. [Applause.] And I know they will endorse the platform that has been adopted here, and the ticket that has been nominated, with all their hearts, with all their souls, and with all their strength. [Applause.] I intend to return to the West, and do all I can to get the German population to go to a man for the Republican platform and the Republican nominations. [Applause.] And I have not the least doubt that John C. Fremont will get a very large majority of the German vote throughout the country. [Applause.] A majority of the German papers have already come out in favor of him [applause], and they all hope

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for the success of our glorious candidates. [Applause.] They hope for success, because the question at issue is one of vast importance to the German citizens of this great country. We look upon the struggle as between slave labor and free labor, and a triumph of free labor is of vital importance to the Germans in the United States. [Applause.] I think we shall triumph. I think I can say that the Prairie State will give at least 20,000 majority for Fremont. [Applause.]

CALIFORNIA'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE NOMINATION.

Senator Wills, of California, was called on to acknowledge, in behalf of that State, the nomination of Fremont. He ascended the platform amid great applause, cheering and confusion. When silence was restored, he said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: It is my pleasure as well as my privilege, as the most youthful member of the California delegation, to return you the thanks of that State for the honor which you have conferred upon California by the nomination which you have made of John C. Fremont, as the standard-bearer in this new revolution—for we live in revolutionary times. That word revolution carries me back to the original revolution which gave birth to the States of this confederacy.

In the dark hour of our fate, the eye of the patriot was cast over the length and breadth of the land—for at that time a leader was wanted. The North had its able and gallant leaders—the South also had its leaders. But, gentlemen, in that crisis the wisdom of that day fixed its eye upon a young Virginia colonel—a colonel who had got his education in the mountains, in surveying expeditions, and in leading his troops against the common foe of the country. [Terrific cheering.] Gentlemen, we hail that fact as an augury in this contest. [Cheers.] We, under like circumstances, called upon to fight a battle—not of arms, but a social, civil, political battle—find ourselves under a similar necessity; and you, in imitation of the fathers of this country, have fixed your eyes upon Col. John C. Fremont—[cheers]—a man of military education, of personal courage, of daring adventure, of unblemished character—a man who, I will venture to say, with the field now before him, and the example of Washington in his eye, will become a second Washington by the redemption of his country. [Loud cheers.] California has been looked to in this contest. California knows John C. Fremont. He is, as it were, her foster-father, her discoverer, her conqueror as against her foe, the assertor of her freedom, and her first representative in the Senate. With the name of John C. Fremont, and in view of the recent social and civil, and, I will say, political revolution, that has just occurred in California—part of which I have seen, and in all of which I have participated—with that name under existing circumstances, and with that great measure of measures—that measure both of peace and war—that measure which, more than all, furnishes to the country the material guarantees for the preservation of the Union—I mean the Pacific Railroad—[cheers and cries of "You shall have it"]—with that name, I say—with the platform upon which we stand, I undertake to assert, in no spirit of exaggeration, that if the State of California can be carried by any human being on our platform, John C. Fremont can, and will do it. [Vehement applause.]

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It was then announced that Mr. Grimm, editor of the Belleville *Zeitung*, was present, and would address the meeting. He was invited to speak.

REMARKS OF MR. GRIMM.

After some introductory remarks, he said: The Germans in this country had come here expecting to find freedom; they had found it, and they were willing and anxious to do their duty in preserving it. [Applause.] In the earnestness of their desires for freedom, they had mostly, when they became citizens, united with the Democratic party, believing from its name, that it was *the* Democratic party; but as soon as they found that it was not—that it favored Slavery rather than freedom—as soon as they found that it was false to freedom and true to tyranny, they were with it no longer. [Applause.] The Germans had fought for freedom in Germany with the sword and with the pen; and here, in their chosen land, they were as ready to give their blood for it as they were when in the land of their birth. [Applause.]

Mr. Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, read this dispatch from Detroit: "One hundred guns are now being fired by the sailors of Detroit for John C. Fremont. Fremont thunder has crossed Lake Erie. The channel of the St. Clair Flats is now open." [Loud cheers.] It was fitting, he said, that the first response should come from Michigan. She was first to inaugurate the Republican party of the United States. [Cheers. "Maine was first!" "Ohio was first!" "Pennsylvania was first!" "Illinois was first!"] He wanted to allude to Gen. Cass, because Michigan had not a clean record. Gen. Cass desired to be President of the United States, and he wrote that damnable Nicholson letter which preceded all these outrages. Like Esau, he sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. But he did not get that. [Loud applause] Franklin Pierce, like Judas, had betrayed Freedom for thirty pieces of silver. Would he be as repentant as Judas? He promised for Michigan 10,000 majority next fall. [Enthusiastic cheering.]

Gov. Cleveland, "Three cheers for the sailors of Detroit," which was responded to with most vehement cheering.

The President announced that the Hon. Mr. Van Dyke would now address the Convention.

Mr. Van Dyke appeared upon the stand and said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: It seems eminently appropriate that something should be said on the present occasion by New Jersey. The duty of performing this has been unfortunately, I think, imposed upon me. But I shall not attempt to make a regular speech, but will make a few remarks in a very plain way. New Jersey, I think, should be heard for two reasons. You will bear in mind that a majority of the votes given originally from New Jersey were given for Judge McLean of Ohio. I heard it said during the progress of the canvass, that unless Judge McLean should be the nominee, New Jersey would probably bolt. I would live to know who has uttered that slander. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, it is true that a majority of the delegates from New Jersey

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were in favor of Judge McLean. New Jersey loved Judge McLean. She loved him for his high, pure, upright and moral character. She admired him for his great integrity, for his great intelligence, and for his great capacity to manage the helm of this great nation in this crisis. She loved Judge McLean, moreover, because he was her own son, born of her own body. She had rocked the cradle of his infancy. She had borne him upon her bosom in his childhood and had sustained him in his youth, and she therefore felt strongly disposed—a majority of her delegates—to give him her vote. But, gentlemen, she was by no means so wedded to Judge McLean as to be unwilling to lead him to the sacrifice if the sacrifice was required. That sacrifice seemed to be necessary, and the victim was ready. Gentlemen, when the question was started in the New Jersey delegation (it being supposed that Judge McLean's name was withdrawn from the Convention) whom we would go for next, I remember very well that the venerable gentleman who now sits upon this platform (Chief Justice Hornblower), and who was the cause of that admirable correspondence placed before the public between himself and Judge McLean, when called upon to tell us what to do next, with his eye flashing fire, with his silvery locks bristling with light, he said, "*I am a Young American*—[loud and enthusiastic cheers]—and if I cannot get the man whom I wish, I will go for the man whose star comes from the west, and is now rising in beauty over this mighty nation." [Cheers.] Gentlemen, we were perfectly willing not only to go, but to go with perfect alacrity, if we could not get Judge McLean, for John C. Fremont, of California—[cheers]—the man who has traced the paths of the buffalo through the windings and gorges of the Rocky Mountains, who has grappled with the grizzly bear upon the snow-capped summits—the man who has planted the standard of the United States in the golden regions of California—the man who through toil, suffering, trial, danger, hunger and snow, has done all these things, and, with the capacity of Cæsar himself, that has gained such magnificent results, and who, withal, is so capable of giving us magnificent accounts of them—[enthusiastic cheers]—a man, gentlemen, whose fame is already too large for this continent—a man, around whose brow are clustering the laurels and the honors of scientific establishments beyond the Atlantic wave—a man who has traced, not only with his own eye and his own thought the vast extent of country in the West, and surveyed the whole of it, but has put it down on the map so that every schoolboy and schoolgirl can see and examine it. [Cheers.] Gentlemen, the State of New Jersey is willing to go for this man; and with John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton upon our ticket—[loud cheers]—we will awaken every mountain echo in New Jersey, from the New York line to the jumping-off place at Cape May. [Prolonged cheers.] We will not only do this, gentlemen, but my impression is that we will set fire to the whole of the pine swamps on the Atlantic border, and you of Pennsylvania must look to it that the Delaware is not too wide to prevent the flames from spreading. [Cheers.] Allow me also, gentlemen, to thank you for the honor you have extended to the State of New Jersey, in selecting for the second office in the gift of this great people, one of her sons. [Cheers.] You have selected one of New Jersey's first sons. I will not say that he stands without an equal, but I will say that he stands without a superior—[loud cheers]—and I will say further that he stands with but few if any superi-

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ors in this great land. [Cheers.] He drew his infant breath among the green hills of Morristown, where Washington was long encamped. Later he settled down on the plains of Monmouth, where he became an honored member of the Judiciary of the State. Now, he resides at Trenton, the great battle-field of the Revolution, where the torrent which was overflowing us was first checked. [Enthusiastic cheers.] William L. Dayton is an accomplished man in every sense of the word. He is a scholar, a gentleman, a learned lawyer, a distinguished Judge upon the bench. I know him all the way through. [Cheers.] I know him intimately, and I know that in everything which can be desired at the present time he is the man demanded by the exigencies of the time for Vice-President and presiding officer of the Senate of the United States. [Cheers.] He is also sound on the question which is now agitating this country. [Loud cheers.] I speak, gentlemen, what I know upon this subject. [Cheers.] It so happened, fortunately or unfortunately, that I was a member of Congress when the Compromise measures of 1850 were passed. I had frequent consultations with Mr. Dayton about those measures, and I know that he opposed them all the way through—[cheers]—not all of them, it is true. He did not oppose the admission of California, nor did he oppose the abolition of the slave traffic in the District of Columbia, which he always voted to stop. [Cheers.] But he did not vote for the Fugitive Slave Law—[loud cheers]—which was passed. These, with other matters, were those which were at issue when the North was sold to the South as it had been before. In all of these three measures he voted with his own State, which, with one exception, opposed with all their energy, the Fugitive Slave Law. [Cheers.] When he returned to his own State, he met a tumult, that seemed to rise all over the country, that these Compromise measures should be abided by, and some of the people of his own State were inclined to think that he had misrepresented them, and the result was that he was thrown into the shade, simply because he was six years in advance of his constituents upon this very question. [Loud cheers.] On all of these things he is everything that can be desired. Gentlemen, I have another duty to perform, and it is to return my thanks for the very handsome manner in which Illinois has yielded her preferences [loud cheers] to New Jersey's favorite son. Gentlemen from Illinois, it was my pleasure to know right well the long "Sucker" you presented. I knew Abraham Lincoln in Congress well, and for months I sat by his side. I knew him all through, and knew him to be a first-rate man in every respect; and if it had not been the will and pleasure of the Convention to have selected William L. Dayton, I know with what perfect alacrity I would have gone for him. I know we of New Jersey would have all gone for him if New Jersey had been called upon to make another sacrifice, and I know that none would have more readily consented to the sacrifice than the victim himself. [Loud cheers.] I thank you, therefore, gentlemen from Illinois, for the graceful manner in which you yielded your own preferences and unanimously voted for Mr. Dayton of New Jersey. [Cheers.] Gentlemen of this Convention, we are embarked in a great cause. You know my own affinities have always been with the Whig party, and those who know me well enough, know I am ready to abandon every single one, so far as this issue is concerned, to secure the success of Republican principles, and I will not abandon it

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while a plank remains of the Republican ship. [Cheers.] We have embarked on this Republican ship, and that ship is not to be surrendered under any circumstances. If the storms do overwhelm us and we are unable to navigate the troubled sea, rather than desert let us go down with her. [Cheers.] Before we will abandon this glorious ship in which we have embarked, we will nail our colors to the mast, spread every sail, and give her to the God of the storm, of the lightning and the gale. [Prolonged cheers.]

Mr. A. P. Stone, of Ohio, offered the following resolution:

Resolved: That the next meeting of the Republican National Convention be held at the city of Cleveland, in the State of Ohio.

Mr. ———, of ———, proposed a resolution that when this Convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet again in the city of Washington, D. C., on the fourth day of March next, to attend the inauguration of John C. Fremont, as President of the United States.

Loud calls were made for "Hale! Hale!" and in the midst of the greatest uproar of applause, Mr. John P. Hale came forward and took the stand.

SPEECH OF JOHN P. HALE.

Mr. Hale, when the cheering had ceased, spoke as follows:

Permit me to congratulate you, my friends, to-day, upon the spirit that you have manifested, and the unanimity with which that expression has gone forth. I believe that this is a Convention assembled not so much to decide who shall administer the government, but shall there be a government to be administered? [Loud cheers and cries of "That's it!"] You have assembled not to say whether the Union shall be preserved, but whether, being preserved, it shall be a blessing to the people, or a scorn and a hissing the world over. [Loud cheers.] Some men, my friends, have expressed surprise and astonishment at the situation of things in this country; but I confess that whatever other emotions fill my breast to-day, surprise or astonishment finds no place there. I am not more surprised to see the news that comes flashing over the telegraph, day after day, and is conveyed to our ears and our eyes, than I shall be surprised next autumn to see the ripened fruit following the buds of spring and the bloom of summer. No, my friends, we are living in the harvest-time of a proslavery Democracy. They have sown their seeds; they have germinated, budded, blossomed, borne fruit; and now the historian is writing his history in the blood of our fellow citizens on the plains of Kansas. [Loud cheers.] And it will go abroad writing its hideous picture on the heavens over our heads in the lurid light that flashes up from the burning dwellings of our brethren, and the picture is heralded to the world by the screams of the mothers and children who have been ruthlessly driven from the home that the incendiary has laid in ashes. [Cheers.] And, my friends, the picture is not perfect until the faithful historian shall answer the question who has done it? I say the national administration has done it, and nobody else; and they are responsible to-day for it to the world, to the country, to heaven, and to all posterity; one of your resolutions, I believe, recites the objects

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which our fathers said they framed the Federal Constitution for. One of these was to insure "domestic tranquillity." Where is "domestic tranquillity," to-day, in Kansas? Trodden under foot, and lawless violence stalking in its place. Another was to promote justice. Where is justice, to-day, in Kansas? Trodden under foot by violence. And where is liberty? Why, my friends, if it be anywhere else, as I trust in God it is, it is not in Kansas; but if it be not in the Territories, where the Federal jurisdiction extends, it has at least free territory in your own hearts [loud cheers]; and I am confident that, under its generous impulses, you will assemble as one mighty host, under the leader you have selected, to march forth in the coming campaign to a glorious victory. [Cheers.] My friends, I know it is bad taste for a man ever to indulge in personal allusions; but I think I have a right to indulge in one. Four years ago I had the honor of being nominated for President. [Cheers and laughter.] But my friends had told me that I had been in the minority so long that I made a most excellent candidate when they expected to be defeated, but when victory came they wanted another leader. [Laughter and applause.] They leave me still in the minority where I am. Well, my friends, what did we meet for? Can we unite? If we cannot, we deserve defeat. One old gentleman said to me, about a week ago: "Well, I don't know; I think if the slave power takes one or two more screws upon us, it will bring the North together." [Loud cheers and laughter.] One or two more? Why, said I, if the north don't come together now, if they don't rouse themselves as one man, if they hear not all the voices which come to them from every quarter, they would not hear Moses and the prophets, neither would they be persuaded though they were screwed again. [Great laughter and applause.] Well, now, my friends, what is our prospect? I cannot speak for this whole country, but I have just come from New Hampshire. They talk to you here, perhaps, about the preferences of the different States. We had no preferences there. We were for the cause—we were for liberty—we were for the great principles of the Constitution carried out faithfully, and no matter who might be the standard-bearer, we were the soldiers to the cause, and we were ready to fight under any true man. And it is, perhaps, true, my friends, that the hot impulses which are ready to wipe out whatever odium is fastened upon our State by its unfortunate connection with the present administration, will rally our voters more readily and more cheerfully under the gallant man you have selected for President. New Hampshire is small, I know, but I tell you she is sound to the core, and she will speak a language that will tower above the little voices she has been uttering for some time past as high as the mountains tower above the valleys. And so it will be with all New England. Then we come to Pennsylvania. And what of her? It cannot be that this glorious Commonwealth, formed by the piety and nurtured by the patriotism of a Penn—it cannot be that this Commonwealth, with such a glorious beginning, with such magnificent prospects, with such a glorious future before her—it cannot be that in this great contest of the day, compared with which all other contests sink into comparative insignificance, that she is going to belie her glorious history, her rich memories, her dead patriots, her living fame, and bind herself to the car of slavery. [Loud applause.] Oh, no, my friends, I don't believe it. Why, I should almost be afraid that the rumbling of the dry bones

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of the dead patriots of another age would come back to rebuke their recreant sons, before they would permit such a reproach as that to be fastened upon the land of their affections. It cannot be. We have nothing to do, my friends, but to go forward. The harvest is ripe for the sickle. God's blessings hang over us, only waiting faith in us to take them. That is all. [Loud and repeated cheers.] And, my friends, there is one glorious feature in this campaign, and that is, we fight it aboveboard. We have got out of the bushes. We will have no more bush-fighting. We have had, with the blessing of Providence, the prayer of the old Grecian warrior answered in our favor. When an unnatural mist came over him, he poured forth the whole energy of his warlike nature in one fervent supplication—

"Oh, God! dispel these clouds;
The light of Heaven restore;
Give me to see, and
Ajax asks no more."

These clouds are all dispelled. The mists that have enveloped us have rolled away before the brightening rays of the glorious sun of liberty and light. And it shines out over us all. Here are the two hosts: There is the host that has sworn to extend the mildew of slavery over the whole land—and here is the army that opposes them. There is no mistake about it. There is an open field and a fair fight. The banners are as distinct as light and darkness. [Applause.] The word has gone forth; and from now to the final conflict every man has a duty for himself individually and collectively. [Cheers.] And what is that duty? Why, he is to be not only a soldier, but a missionary. He is to go forth to do battle himself and to encourage his neighbors to spread abroad the light —to tell him, in the good Providence of God, that the crisis which is to determine whether Liberty or Slavery is to rule the destinies of this country, has come. And, my friends, if there is any man here who has a brave heart in his bosom, I think he will thank God that it has come in his day. We had better settle it now, friends, possibly we may better settle it by the ballot than by the cartridge box. It is in our power now this year to settle this great question at the ballot-box; and in doing it we shall achieve a victory which will tend to the progress of Liberty and the cause of Humanity and the destinies of Liberty, as connected with this Government, and more glorious than when Cornwallis surrendered the last British army to the American hosts. For that victory, friends, I trust that we will go forward with one heart, and one purpose, and one generous resolve. The signs are all favorable. Intelligence is broadcast in this day; it cannot go fast enough through the ordinary modes of conveyance. We have enlisted the lightnings of Heaven, and they rush from place to place, flashing intelligence from mind to mind. And thus, having the good cause commended by every consideration that can address itself to the heart of the patriot or the Christian, let us, with firm hopes, generous purposes, and self-sacrificing fidelity to the cause, go forward, being assured that the sympathies of good men and the favor of a good God will crown our efforts with success. [Enthusiastic cheering, amid which the gentleman retired.]

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Governor Patterson, of New York, arose and asked that two of the sons of New York might be heard. [Applause.] He wished Mr. Dorsheimer, of Buffalo, and Hon. John A. King to speak for New York. He would call upon Mr. Dorsheimer first.

When he had reached the platform, Gov. Cleveland introduced him as a large, good-looking man, and a Dutchman.

SPEECH OF MR. PHILIP S. DORSHEIMER, OF BUFFALO, NEW YORK.

He said: Gentlemen, I am startled by the greatness of the compliment under which I am introduced. The President says I am large and good looking, and withal a Dutchman. [Applause.] It is now more than forty years since I came to this country, and little did I think when I arrived, that I should have to stand up here, in Philadelphia, the birth-place of that great creed of liberty, "The Declaration of American Independence," at the present day to speak against slavery. When I arrived in this country, the law had just been passed in Pennsylvania for the abolition of slavery. I have always been a Democrat. I thought the Democratic party was the party of freedom; and if, while I remained in that party, its creed contained anything in favor of slavery, I did not understand it, for I have always been opposed to slavery, and as soon as I discovered what favored it in the platforms and acts of the party and its leaders I left it. [Applause.] I have been so long in this country that I have almost forgotten my native tongue. I have been more than forty years in American society—not in American organizations. [Laughter and applause.] I have never been in secret political societies; and I do not believe they will ever succeed in injuring an honest man. [Applause.] I have always been well treated by Americans wherever I have been—often, I have thought, much better than I deserved. The German population of the United States are, as has been said, opposed to slavery; I am opposed to it; and I was grieved when I heard Mr. Stevens say what he did concerning the State of Pennsylvania. I love Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania was the first to take me to her arms. I have lived with one of her daughters for thirty-five years. [Laughter.] My wife was rocked in a democratic cradle. Her relatives are democrats, such democrats as I am—men who will work and vote for John C. Fremont for President of the United States. [Cheers.] I am sorry to hear any one even doubt of the certainty of Pennsylvania for freedom in the coming election. [Applause.] I would be sorely grieved, were I to return to my home with the impression that Pennsylvania would not give a majority for the ticket we have nominated. I know that most of the Germans of Pennsylvania are mainly in the right on the momentous question of slavery; and if they need any help from me, I will say to my friends that I will come to Pennsylvania whenever they want me to aid in the good cause. [Applause.] But, gentlemen, I have detained you too long, and I will now give way to my good friend, John A. King, who will tell you more that is good than I can, and do it in a much better style. [Applause.]

REMARKS OF JOHN A. KING.

He said his friend had left nothing for him to add, and had said what he had said in an admirable way. And yet as he had been requested to do so, he would say a word on behalf of New York. They had come to the Convention for the purpose of uniting upon

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a standard-bearer during the coming campaign. He had had his own preferences; he had thought that when they had an able statesman in New York—one who had discharged his duties in all of the lofty positions he had been called to occupy, in an able manner—in such manner as to command the admiration of the whole country—it would be well to present his name to the Convention. He had hoped that the name of William H. Seward, of New York, would have been presented. [Great applause.] For in him their hopes were centered. They knew him to be true, and they knew him to be faithful, for they had tried him. [Applause.] But it was not deemed best. It was thought unadvisable to take such a man from the Senate at such a time. [Applause.] In making a selection it was, where there was a desire for unanimity, comparatively an easy task to pass from one good friend of the cause to another. We, of New York, have ever been true to the Constitution and true to freedom. We had no preferences which we could permit to interfere with that; and we gave, without consultation—for we had made no agreement or arrangement at any meeting—one unanimous vote for John C. Fremont. New York sustains the nomination, and I trust she will give him, not a plurality, but a majority of her votes. I have no right to pledge any number for her, but I know her record is right for freedom. She was right in 1820, and she will be so again. Proceeding to speak of Mr. Fremont, he said he knew but little of him personally, and yet he knew him to be a true man, a brave man, and a man of integrity. His history was in every school book. They required a man who would not hesitate when Freedom was in danger, and he believed J. C. Fremont to be that man. And there was another man, a man from New Jersey, whom they had nominated for the Vice-Presidency. He was a man of middle age, and he knew him to be a good man. He had been with him in the Gongress of the United States for two years, where he had seen that he was as true as steel, and that his qualifications were such as fitted him practically for the office of President of the Senate. These were the men they had nominated. He asked, would they elect them? [Cries of "Yes, we will!"] Continuing, he said the people were moved concerning the great questions which were now the issues. They were interested in them, not as questions of tariff, or other economical questions, but as questions in which the principles of the Constitution were involved and in danger; and he believed that they would make one more grand effort for Freedom in November next. [Applause.] These were the sentiments of his heart. He was brought up at the feet of one who had something to do with the formation of the Constitution. He bore his name, and he was like him in his love for liberty. [Applause.] These were also the sentiments of New York. She was not for disunion—she was strong for union and for the Constitution. It was to sustain both that they had met in Convention, and he believed their action would have that result, if ratified by the people. To that end they must all work, for it would require an earnest effort to command success.

[Mr. King retired amid great applause.]

Mr. Carpenter, of Vermont, mounted the platform, and asked if they had ever heard of Vermont being sick? He said that she never was sick but once, and that was when she miscarried with

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Stephen A. Douglas. One of the original resolutions upon slavery was framed by Judge Harrington, of Vermont, who said that he would never believe that a man was a slave till he had seen a bill of sale of him from God Almighty. He pledged ten thousand majority for Fremont in Vermont, and said that, if that that was not enough, he would add ten thousand more. [Cheers.]

Judge Test, of Illinois, said that his State delegation was at first equally divided between McLean and Fremont, but there is no division now. Illinois would give from 15,000 to 20,000 majority for Fremont and Dayton. He had lived forty-six years in the State, and he wanted them to see next fall whether he was right. He denounced Stephen A.Douglas,and promised that they would not only give a majority for Fremont and Dayton, but elect two United States senators this fall.

Judge Hoadly, of Ohio, got upon the platform, and said that they had placed Ohio on the right in the Convention, in seating the members, and she would head the column, in November, by rolling up a majority of 100,000! [Applause.] He read a letter from Mr. Charles Remlin, a gentleman who had never voted upon the Republican ticket, but who now predicted the triumph of Fremont. Under the banner of the White Bear, the Polar Bear, the Bear of the North, and Col. Fremont, California achieved her freedom. Let that bear be on our banner, white bear against black bear; Kansas for white men against Kansas for slaves.

Gov. Kent, of Maine, was the next speaker. He said that the star of the East would shine brighter next November, and the State of Maine stand, as it originally stood, with a majority for freedom. The East was modest, and placed none of her men before the Convention. She only asked them and the world to forget the man from the East who now occupies the Presidential chair. The Cincinnati Convention had only got out their water-logged hulk again—not with a new commander—for Buchanan says he is not a commander, but only a new figure-head. Let us go home and organize. The time to talk had passed; the time to act had come, when they had reached their homes.

Mr. Elliott, of Massachusetts, said Massachusetts would ratify the nominations at the ballot-box, but he desired that Henry Wilson might speak for her now.

RESPONSE OF MASSACHUSETTS—HON. HENRY WILSON'S SPEECH.

Mr. Wilson was received with vehement cheers. He said:

Mr. President and Fellow Citizens of the Convention: I congratulate you on the result of this day's proceedings. You have preferred a platform that embraces freedom, humanity and Christianity. [Cries of "Good," and cheers.] You have embodied the sentiments of a pure, Christian Democracy in your platform. [Cheers.] You have placed in nomination a ticket that you have

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not to apologize for. You have a ticket standing on your platform, and worthy of the suffrages of the Christian freemen of the United States. [Cheers.] Sir, I am called upon to respond for Massachusetts. Massachusetts, sir, by an uncounted majority, will sustain that platform and support that ticket. Far rather, sir, would I have the grandson of John Adams, and the son of John Quincy Adams speak for Massachusetts to-day. I would rather hear the son of Samuel Hoar, who was driven from South Carolina. And I would rather hear the voice of any of the other eloquent sons of Massachusetts in this Convention than my own. But, sir, as I have been called upon to offer a word or two, I will speak with some degree of frankness, and say that we have adopted a glorious platform. We have a glorious ticket. And now, all that is required is that we organize the Christian Democratic sentiment of America, and place that ticket in power. [Loud cheers.] Are you, gentlemen, for free speech? [Shouts of "Aye," "Yes," and cheers.] Then vote for John C. Fremont. [Cheers.] Are you for a free press? ["Aye,"]—all over the North? ["Yes, yes."] In Kansas? [Shouts of "Yes, certainly."] Everywhere in the territory of the United States? ["Aye. aye."] Then vote the ticket that has here been nominated. [Cheers.] Are you for freemen—["aye, aye, aye,"]—everywhere under the folds of the flag of the United States? In the territories of the United States? [Cheers and shouts of "aye."] Then vote that ticket. Are you for free Kansas? [Cries of "aye."] Do you want to bring that young sister of ours, now in a condition of civil war, into the galaxy of free confederacies? [Loud cries of "aye."] Then support that ticket. [Cheers.] Aye, gentlemen, let our motto in this canvass be, Free Speech, Free Press, Free men, Free Labor, Free Territory, and Fremont. [Thundering cheers.] Gentlemen, my feelings this day are not unmixed with sadness. Our friends from Pennsylvania have been disappointed in their choice.

Gov. Cleveland, the gentleman will allow me to make a suggestion. All that is healed up, and they are now glad that they were disappointed.

Voices—"Certainly, certainly." [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Wilson, then, sir, I pass from the allusion to it. I rejoice to learn that their feelings of anxiety of yesterday have passed into cheering and brilliant hopes to-day. I believe that ticket will not only be sustained in New England—in the mighty West, in New York, and in New Jersey, but that it will carry the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. [Loud cheers.] They may tell me that Fremont is a new man. But, thank God, we can say that he did not oppose our countrymen when they were fighting the battles of free trade and sailors' rights. [Applause.] You have not that history to apologize for. And, sir, his name is not appended to that Ostend address, that piratical document that has disgraced America in the face of the civilized world. His history is a brilliant and glorious chapter in the history of the country, and there is no American of any party that is not proud of him. [Cheers.] You have no apologies to make for your candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. Sir, a delegate from New Jersey has told us that W. L. Dayton has been true to Liberty. The other day I examined the Congressional Record, and read his long and brilliant speech against the compromise measures. I read up his history, because I believed he was just the man to put on this

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ticket with John C. Fremont. [Loud cheers.] I will say that in the Senate of the United States, among the most gifted sons of the Republic, Wm. L. Dayton was considered among the first and foremost. [Cheers.] We have genius and talent, we have principle and patriotism in our ticket. And all we want is the organization of the freemen of the Union. I suggest to the young men here to-day, to the young men of the country, to hold State Conventions immediately, endorse this nomination, and organize Young America to support the resolutions we have adopted. [Cheers.] We were told to-day that our fathers took an untried man, George Washington, to lead us to victory. When John Adams and Hancock were organizing the American Revolution, the British General wanted to know who Hancock and who Adams were. Said he, "I have heard of Hancock, but who are this brace of Adamses?" Gentlemen, the British agent found out who Samuel and John Adams were. The men who oppose this ticket, who ask those questions, will find out in November next who John C. Fremont is. [Loud applause.] This is a moment of revolution. It is a revolution of liberty, of humanity, of Christianity, of all that is noble in man. And I believe it will gloriously triumph in November next. Be it our duty, gentlemen, each and all of us, to labor and to hope on until we establish the principles embodied in this platform in the Government of the country, and place that name [pointing to the banner on which Mr. Fremont's name was inscribed] in the Presidential Chair of the Republic. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

Hon. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, said that he should not have presumed to occupy the time of the Convention, but that he was unwilling that Pennsylvania should have no voice in these congratulations. Pennsylvania, by some, is considered doubtful, and to Pennsylvanians, also, I appeal. Why, I ask, in the name of God, can we not carry Pennsylvania? Was not blood shed here too in our Revolution? Have we no historical associations? Was Pennsylvania so low that politicians could drag her down? Have we no patriotic sentiment among our people! A more honest and patriotic population cannot be found on the face of the earth than the citizens of Pennsylvania. He appealed to the Philadelphians, by the patriotic associations of their city, to assist in the work. Had Philadelphia forgotten that Franklin lived and died among them? Friends, said he, let us carry Pennsylvania. [Cries of "We will," and cheers.]

Mr. Williams, of Pennsylvania, came forward and said that although Pennsylvania had been disappointed in the choice of a candidate, she would prove true in the approaching crisis. There was a greater question pending than there was before the Revolutionary fathers, and the Keystone State would be true to her duty.

Judge Tyler, of Connecticut, chose to face the South. The single issue before this country is—Freedom or Slavery. They told us that disunion would result. Would Virginia secede? The ashes of Jefferson forbade it. Would Kentucky secede?

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There was a subterrene power that forbade it. They must first remove the bones of Henry Clay. ["And they must kill Cassius M. Clay too."] They were going to prevent disunion, peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must. He was going to act; he was going to Kansas. [Enthusiastic cheers.] God Almighty, the giver of all good gifts, who planted the central fire in the earth, had planted in our bosoms the fire of liberty. Stephen A. Douglas, with his Nebraska bill, had subsoiled half a continent. He should see the fruit of it. [Immense cheering and waving of handkerchiefs.]

Mr. Blakey, of Kentucky, came as an earnest that Kentucky, before another four years came round, should be fully admitted as a member of the Republican Family of States. Under the lead of Cassius M. Clay [enthusiastic applause], Kentucky had given a larger Free-Soil vote than any other State.

Mr. Underwood, of Virginia, asked why Virginia was not represented here to-day as in 1776? It was because there was a just God in heaven; and his justice would not slumber forever. It was because their political Masonry had been cementing the wall for crushed humanity; because their hunters had been hunting down Christian women, for deeds which might almost call down an archangel. Were they willing that this blighting curse should be extended into Kansas? ["No, no!"] He appealed to them that the fate of Virginia should be a warning.

The Chairman stated that he had a communication from Cassius M. Clay that he supported the nominee, let him be whom he may.

The Hon. Thos. Davis, of Rhode Island, said that though small in territory, his State had all the attributes which went to make up prosperity. With one-fiftieth only of the territory of Virginia, they could show such contrast to Virginia as would satisfy all men from whence models for new States should be drawn. But Rhode Island was not a doubtful State, and he need say no more.

Mr. Fussell, of Maryland, and Mr. Branscomb, of Kansas, expressed their entire concurrence in the platform and their satisfaction with the candidates.

Gen. Pomeroy, of Kansas, made a few eloquent and stirring remarks. He said that some proposed letting Kansas in free, as a final settlement of the past. But this was not enough. The South must make atonement—must make reparation. They must recompense the freemen of Kansas for their buildings destroyed and their property stolen. They must give back the dead that have gone before. They must restore to the mother the only son of her hope, to the wife the husband of her heart. Atonement was the word: they must make atonement for the

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record of the past. The free men who went to Kansas did not think they were going where they were to be deprived of the protection of the Government. They had a right to go as free men. They did not suppose that when there they should have to learn another language, to undergo another baptism; for they had been baptized in the love of freedom at their early homes. They could not be slaves—they had not the mark of servitude written on their backs or branded on their foreheads. They had come here from their desolate homes with drooping heads and trembling hands, but they were now inspired with hope, for they found their friends ready at their call to aid them. He concluded by declaring that all Free Kansas would pray that the man who tracked our prairies to California may be the next President of the Union.

Mr. Pomeroy's remarks created much sensation, and were received with loud applause.

Mr. Wilmot moved to reconsider the resolution directing the National Committee to call a Young Men's Convention in New York in September, for the purpose of offering an amendment to the same, providing for holding the proposed Young Men's Convention in the city of Harrisburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, instead of in the city of New York,

The motion to reconsider was adopted.

The proposed amendment of Mr. Wilmot was then adopted, and the resolution as amended, and in the words following, was then unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That a National Convention of Young Men in favor of Free Speech, Free Soil, and Free Kansas, and of Fremont for President of the United States, be held in the month of September, 1856, at the city of Harrisburgh, in the State of Pennsylvania, under the call of the Republican National Committee.

Judge Hoar, of Massachusetts, called up the resolution to hold the next National Convention at Cleveland, and moved its reference to the Republican National Committee. He thought the Committee should name the place. If successful in the election, they might hold their next Convention in Kentucky or Virginia. Massachusetts desired to advance the column to the South, holding their party to be a National party. The Democrats had called their next National Convention at Charleston, in the State of South Carolina, and if they persevered in their present policy, they would never dare to show themselves north of that State.

The motion to refer was adopted, and the resolution in question was accordingly referred to the Republican National Committee.

Hon. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, then offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Hon. Robert Emmet, for the courteous and efficient manner

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in which he discharged the duties of temporary President whilst effecting the organization of this Convention.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the Hon. Henry S. Lane, President of this Convention, for his impartial and energetic discharge of the duties of Presiding Officer of the Convention.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted with hearty cheers.

Hon. George Hoadley, of Ohio, offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to its Vice-Presidents and Secretaries for their ability and fidelity in the discharge of their duties.

Judge Hoadley put the question upon this resolution, and the same was unanimously adopted.

Mr. —— of —— offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the members of this Convention entertain a deep sense of the hospitality and kindness which they have experienced at the hands of their fellow-citizens of the city of Philadelphia, during the session of this Convention; and that we tender to them our grateful acknowledgments therefor; and that to the members and reporters of the public press, who have attended and reported our proceedings, our thanks are hereby presented for their faithful and efficient services.

Which resolution was unanimously adopted.

It was then moved that this Convention do now adjourn, without day.

And with hearty cheers for the platform—led off by Gov. Cleveland, in the Chair—and nine tremendous cheers for the candidates, in the best of feeling, the Convention adjourned.

HENRY S. LANE, of Indiana,
President.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

HELD AT CHICAGO, MAY 16th, 17th AND 18th, 1860.

FIRST DAY.

At 12:10 p. m., Wednesday, May 16, 1860, the Delegates having assembled, the Convention was called to order by Hon. Edwin D. Morgan, of New York.

OPENING ADDRESS BY MR. MORGAN.

Hon. Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, in calling the Convention to order said:

On the twenty-second of December last, the Republican National Committee, at a meeting convened for the purpose in the City of New York, issued a call for a National Convention, which I will now read:

"A National Republican Convention will meet at Chicago on Wednesday, the 16th day of May next, at twelve o'clock noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-Presinent at the next election.

"The Republican electors of the several states, the members of the people's party of Pennsylvania and of the opposition party of New Jersey, and all others who are willing to co-operate with them in support of the candidates which shall there be nominated, and who ore opposed to the policy of the present administration, to federal corruption and usurpation, to the extension of slavery into the territories, to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into all the territories of the United States, to the opening of the African slave trade, to any inequality of rights among citizens; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, under the Constitution recently adopted by its people, of restoring the federal administration to a system of rigid economy and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, of maintaining inviolate the rights of the States and defending the soil of every State and Territory from lawless invasion, and of preserving the integrity of this Union and the supremacy of the Constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof against the conspiracy of the

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leaders of a sectional party, to resist the majority principle as established in this government even at the expense of its existence —are invited to send from each State two delegates from each Congressional district, and four delegates at large to the Convention."

EDWIN D. MORGAN, New York, Chairman,
JOSEPH BARTLETT, Maine,
GEO. G. FOGG, New Hampshire,
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vermont,
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts,
GIDEON WELLES, Connecticut,
THOMAS WILLIAMS, Pennsylvania,
GEORGE HARRIS, Maryland,
ALFRED CALDWELL, Virginia,
THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio,
CASSIUS M. CLAY, Kentucky,
JAMES SHERMAN, New Jersey,
CORNELIUS COLE, California,
JAMES RITCHIE, Indiana,
NORMAN B JUDD, Illinois,
ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, Michigan,
JOHN H. TWEEDY, Wisconsin,
ALEX. RAMSEY, Minnesota,
ANDREW J. STEVENS, Iowa,
ASA S. JONES, Missouri,
MARTIN F. CONWAY, Kansas,
LEWIS CLEPHANE, Dist. of Columbia,
WM. M. CHACE, Rhode Island,
O. P. SCHOOLFIELD, Tennessee,
E. D. WILLIAMS, Deleware.

In compliance therewith, the people have sent representatives here to deliberate upon measures for carrying into effect the objects of the call.

Usage has made it my duty to take the preliminary step towards organizing the convention—a Convention, upon the proceedings of which, permit me to say, the most momentous results are depending. No body of men of equal number was ever clothed with greater responsibility than those now within the hearing of my voice. You do not need me to tell you, gentlemen, what this responsibility is. While one portion of the adherents of the National Administration are endeavoring to insert a slave code into the party platform, another portion exhibits its readiness to accomplish the same result through the action of the Supreme Court of the United States [applause]; willing by indirection to do that which, if done directly, would bring a blush even to the cheek of modern Democracy. [Cheers and laughter.]

While these and other stupendous wrongs, absolutely shocking to the moral sentiment of the country, are to be fastened upon the people by the party in power, if its leaders are able to bring the factious elements that compose it into any degree of unanimity, there seems left no ray of hope except in the good sense of this Convention. [Great applause]

Let me then invoke you to act in a spirit of harmony, that by the dignity, the wisdom and the patriotism displayed here you may be enabled to enlist the hearts of the people, and to strengthen them in the faith that yours is the constitutional party of the country, and the only constitutional party; that you are actuated

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by principle, and that you will be guided by the light and by the example of the fathers of the Republic. [Renewed cheers.]

Fortunately you are not required to enunciate new and untried principles of government. This has been well and wisely done by the statesmen of the Revolution. [Applause.] Stand where they stood, avowing and maintaining the like objects and doctrines; then will the end sought be accomplished; the Constitution and the Union be preserved, and the government be administered by patriots and statesmen.

For Temporary President I now nominate Hon. David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania. [Great and prolonged applause.] Those that are in favor of the nomination of Mr. Wilmot for temporary presiding officer will say, aye.

The nomination being confirmed by the unanimous voice of the Convention amid great applause, the Chair nominated Judge Wm. L. Marshall, of Maryland, and Gov. C. F. Cleveland, of Connecticut, to wait upon the presiding officer and conduct him to his seat.

The temporary chairman was then conducted to the chair by the committee, amid loud cheering, Gov. Cass Cleveland introducing him as follows:

Permit me to introduce to this Convention a gentleman whose name is known to every lover of liberty throughout this land—the Hon. David Wilmot, the man who dares to do the right, regardless of consequences. With such men for our leaders, there is no such word as fail. [Vociferous cheering.]

THE CHAIRMAN'S INAUGURAL.

Hon. David Wilmot, on taking the chair, spoke as follows:

I have no words in which properly to express my sense of the honor—and the undeserved honor, I think it is—of being called upon to preside temporaily over the deliberations of this Convention.

I shall not attempt a task which I feel inadequate to perform. Be sure, gentlemen, that I am not insensible to this high and undeserved honor. I shall carry the recollection of it, and of your manifestation of partiality with me until the day of my death.

It is not necessary for me, fellow citizens, gentlemen, delegates, to remind you of the importance of the occasion that has called this assemblage together; nor of the high duties which devolve upon you. A great sectional and aristocratic party, or interest, has for years dominated with a high hand over the political affairs of this country. That interest has wrested, and is now wresting, all the great powers of this government to the one object of the extension of slavery. It is our purpose, gentlemen —it is the mission of the Republican party and the basis of its organization, to resist this policy of a sectional interest. It is our mission to restore this government to its original policy, and place it again in that rank upon which our fathers organized and brought it into existence. It is our purpose and our policy to resist these new Constitutional dogmas, that slavery exists by virtue of the Constitution wherever the banner of this Union floats.

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It is our purpose to restore the Constitution to its original meaning; to give to it its true interpretation; to read that instrument as our fathers read it. [Applause.] That instrument was not ordained and established for the purpose of extending slavery within the limits of this country; it was not ordained and established for the purpose of giving guarantees and securities to that institution. Our fathers regarded slavery as a blot upon this country. They went down into their graves with the earnest hope and confident belief, that but a few more years and that blot would be extinguished from our land. [Much applause.] This was the faith in which they died. [Applause.] Had the proposition been presented to them in the early conflicts of the revolution, or outside of that grand movement, that they were called upon to endure the hazards, trials and sacrifices of that long and perilous contest for the purpose of establishing on this continent a great slave empire, not one of them would have drawn his sword in such a cause. [Great applause.]

No, citizens! This republic was established for the purpose of securing the guarantees of liberty, of justice and of righteousness to the people and to their posterity. That was the great object with which the revolution was fought; these were the purposes for which the Union and the Constitution was formed. Slavery is sectional. Liberty national. [Immense applause.]

Fellow citizens: Need I remind this intelligent and vast audience; need I call to mind to the intelligent gentlemen who represent the various States represented upon this floor, manifestations of lawless violence, of tyranny such as the world never saw in a civilized and Christianized land that is manifested with this spirit of slavery. Whose rights are safe where slavery has the power to trample them under foot? Who to-day is not more free to utter his opinions within the empire of Russia, or under the shadow of the despotism of Austria than he is within the limits of the slave States of this Republic?

Will their tyranny be confined to those States where they have the power to enforce it upon us? [Voices—"No! never!"] We owe the liberty which we to-day enjoy in the Free States to the absence of slavery. And, fellow citizens, shall we, in building up this great empire of ours, in fulfilling that high and sacred trust imposed upon us by our fathers—shall we support this blighting, this demoralizing institution throughout the vast extent of our borders. [Voices, loudly—"No!"] Or shall we preserve this land as a free land to our posterity forever? These are the principles for which the Republican party is struggling.

Fellow citizens, the safety of our liberty, the security of all we hold valuable, demands that we should take possession of this government and administer it upon those broad Constitutional doctrines that were recognized for the first sixty years of the existence of our government—that were recognized by Washington, by Jefferson, by Adams, by Madison, by Monroe, by Adams the younger, by Jackson, by Van Buren, even down to the time of Polk, when this new dogma was started, that the Constitution was established to guarantee to slavery perpetual existence and unlimited empire.

Hoping, fellow citizens, that a spirit of patriotism and harmony will guide us to a fortunate result in our deliberations, I am now ready to enter upon the duties which have been assigned me. Great applause.]

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TEMPORARY SECRETARIES.

Mr. Thomas Spooner, of Ohio, I move sir, that Mr. Frederick Hassaureck, of Ohio, Mr. Theodore Pomeroy, of New York, and Mr. Henry T. Blow, of St. Louis, be elected to act as Temporary Secretaries.

The nomination being confirmed by the unanimous voice of the Convention, those gentlemen took the posts assigned them.

THE CHAIR—I will now introduce the Rev. Mr. Humphrey, of this city, who will make a prayer.

PRAYER:

By Rev. Z. Humphrey, of the First Presbyterian church.

Oh, Lord, our Father, Thou art great and greatly to be praised. We come before Thy Throne to worship and also to learn Thy will. We invoke Thy presence and Thy blessing, as we gather beneath this roof to-day. We praise Thee for what Thou art, and for what Thou hast done for us. Verily, the lines have fallen to us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage. Thou hast strengthened the bars of our gates, and placed our children within them. Thou hast made peace in our borders, and filled us with the finest of the wheat. Thou hast not dealt so by any nation. As for Thy judgments, we have not known them; and yet we confess that we have deserved to suffer, for we have sinned against Thee. We entreat Thy forgiveness for all our trangressions, and Thy protection from all consequences of sin. We pray for our common country. We ask that Thou wilt deliver us from all the evil to which we are exposed, and that Thou wilt make us to shake off and put away all those evils which we are too apt to cherish. Wilt Thou bless our rulers, and teach them to govern in the fear of God and in the love of man. Wilt Thou deliver us from corruption, from oppression, from violence, and from selfish ambition. Show us the way of rescuing the oppressed from the house of bondage, and of making this country truly and constantly free. We crave Thy blessing upon this Convention, and pray that Thou wilt enable all those who are here gathered, to act, amid the excitements of the day, as feeling their responsibility to their fellow men, and as knowing that they will one day stand before Thee. Wilt Thou bless us in all that we do. Wilt Thou rule amid all the conflicts of opinion and the strifes of parties; and may the issue be for Thy glory, and for our good. May there be no strife but that of brethren loving, while yet in opinion disagreeing. Let not the ploughshare of division drive through our fair land. May we live as a Christian country; and though we put not our trust in princes, may we be that happy land where God is the Lord—which we ask through Jesus Christ, Our Saviour; Amen.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Judd, of Illinois, I desire to offer a resolution, which I will read as I stand in my place. I move you, sir, that a committee, consisting of one delegate from each State and Territory represented in this Convention, be elected by the delegates thereof, who shall report officers to this Convention for a permanent organization.

Motion submitted and adopted.

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Mr. Judd, I move you that the States be called in their order.

Motion adopted.

The several States were then called, and the committee was made up as follows:

Maine, Leonard Andrews; Vermont, Hugh L. Henry; New Hampshire, Aaron H. Cragin; Massachusetts, Linus B. Comins; Connecticut, Arthur B. Calef; Rhode Island, Simon H. Greene; New York, Henry H. Vandyck; New Jersey, Ephraim Marsh; Pennsylvania, T. J. Coffey; Delaware, Joshua T. Heil; Maryland, James Jeffries; Virginia, Edward M. Norton; Ohio, V. B. Horton; Indiana, P. A. Hackleman; Illinois, William Ross; Michigan, Walter W. Murphy; Wisconsin, John P. McGregor; Iowa, James F. Wilson; Minnesota, Simeon Smith; Missouri, Allan Hamer; Kansas, A. C. Wilder; California, Samuel Bell; Oregon, Grant Johnson; Kentucky, Allen S. Bristow; Texas, M. T. E. Chandler; Nebraska, O. H. Irish; Dist. Columbia, Geo. A. Hill.

A Delegate from Kentucky—Mr. President, I would suggest that the names of all the States be called. [Applause.]

THE CHAIR—Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, [great laughter,] Louisana, Alabama, [laughter and hissing,] Georgia, South Carolina, [laughter,] North Carolina, Florida [Feeble hisses and much laughter]. I believe that includes the names of all the States.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. Benton, of New Hampshire, I move you, sir, that a Committe, consisting of one delegate from each State and Territory represented in this Convention, selected by the delegates thereof, be appointed who shall be a committee to act on credentials, rules and appointments, and be instructed to make report of the number, name and post office address of each delegate, together with rules for the government of this Convention.

A Delegate from Indiana—Divide that. Let us have a committee on credentials and one on order of business.

Mr. Spooner, of Ohio, If I understand, it is intended that we should have two committees, or it was so suggested by the Executive Committee, and we have acted in accordance with that suggestion. I would suggest that there be simply a Committee on Credentials.

THE CHAIR—Will the gentleman from New Hampshire accept the amendment?

Mr. Benton, I accept it.

Motion to appoint a Committee on Credentials was carried.

THE CHAIR—Shall the Chair call the States again?

Many voices—Call the States.

The several States were then called and the committee was made up as follows:

Maine, Rensselaer Cram; New Hampshire, Jacob Benton; Vermont, Edward C. Redington; Massachusetts, Timothy Davis; Connecticut, E. K. Foster; Rhode Island, Benedict Lapham; New

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York, Palmer V. Kellogg; New Jersey, Moses F. Webb; Pennsylvania, J. N. Purviance; Delaware, Lewis Thompson; Maryland, Wm. E. Coale; Virginia, Jacob Hornbrook; Kentucky, Charles Hendley; Ohio, Samuel Stokeley; Indiana, John R. Cravens; Illinois, Stephen T. Logan; Michigan, Francis Quinn; Wisconsin, H. L. Rann; Iowa, C. F. Clarkson; Minnesota, John McCusick; Missouri, James B. Gardenhire; Kansas, Wm. A. Phillips; Nebraska, John R. Meredith; California, Chas. Watrous; Oregon, Joel Burlingame; Texas, D. Henderson; Dist. Columbia, James A. Wyse.

COMMITTEE ON BUSINESS.

Mr. Noble, of Iowa, I move you, sir, that there be one delegate from each delegation, selected by the delegates themselves, to act as a committee to prepare the order of business for this Convention.

Motion adopted.

The States were then called and the committee made up as follows:

Maine, John L. Stephens; New Hampshire, B. F. Martin; Vermont, Edwin D. Mason; Massachusetts, Saml. Hooper; Connecticut, Geo. H. Noble; Rhode Island, Nath. B. Durfee; New York, A. B. James; New Jersey, H. N. Congar; Pennsylvania, Wm. D. Kelly; Delaware, John C. Clark; Maryland, Wm. P. Ewing; Virginia, John G. Jacob; Ohio, R. M. Corwine; Kentucky, Louis M. Dembitz; Indiana, Walter March; Michigan, Austin Blair; Illinois, Thos. A. Marshall; Wisconsin, Elisha Morrow; Minnesota, S. P. Jones; Iowa, Reuben Noble; Missouri, Thos. Fletcher; California, J. C. Hinckley; Oregon, Eli Thayer; Kansas, A G. Proctor; Nebraska, Samuel H. Elbert; Dist. Columbia, Joseph Jerhard; Texas, G. Moyers.

A Delegate from Pennsylvania—I move that the rules of the House of Representatives be adopted for the government of this Convention until otherwise ordered.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Marsh, of New Jersey, I move that the Secretary call the names of the delegates, in order, as they are called in the Congress of the United States; as they are called, the delegates from each State to present their credentials.

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, I supposed that we had just constituted a Committee on Credentials, and my purpose for voting for that Committee was to get rid of all the labor of doing their work. Now, it is proposed to take the work out of their hands and do it here in the Convention. Having voted it once to be done by the Committee, I do not want it brought back here, and I shall vote against any such proceeding. I move to lay the motion on the table.

Mr. Marsh, I withdraw the resolution.

Mr. Greeley, of Oregon, I would like to move an amendment to that resolution. In place of it I move that the roll of the States be now called over, and as each is called, the chairman of that

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delegation present the credentials of that delegation, and if any question arises as to the credentials or right of any to sit here, let it be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. Cartter, I move an amendment; I move to amend the proposition of the gentleman from Oregon or New York, Mr. Greeley, I am not sure which [laughter], that instead of each delegation presenting their credentials here, they present them to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. Greeley, I accept the amendment of the gentleman from Maryland or Rhode Island, I am not particular which: [Laughter and applause.]

THE CHAIR—The motion is that the roll of the States be called, and that the delegates of each State present the credentials of that State to the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials. Resolution carried.

Mr. Cartter, did I understand the gentlman to adopt the amendment?

Mr. Greeley, certainly.

A Delegate at the south end of the platform—I desire to know who the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials is?

THE CHAIR—The Secretary will in a moment announce the committee.

The Chair announced that the Committee on Permanent Organization would meet immediately after the adjournment at the Head Quarters of the National Committee, room 24, Tremont House; also that the Committee on Credentials would meet at the Head Quarters of the New Jersey Delegation at the Richmond House.

Mr. Evarts, of New York, upon this Committee of Credentials each State and Territory has a member; why should not, then, each State and Territory commit its credentials to its member of that committee, to be presented to it?

A voice—"That's the way," and several voices "agreed."

Mr. Evarts, I move accordingly, that the credentials of each delegation be handed to its member of the Committee on Credentials, to be presented to that body.

A Delegate of Ohio—A resolution has already passed requiring that the credentials be committed to the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, and I rose to suggest that what is done by an agent is done by the party, and without this motion at all they can pass them through their member to the Chairman of the Committee.

THE CHAIR—Is the gentleman from New York satisfied that his resolution is covered by the one passed?

Mr. Evarts, undoubtedly, if it is understood that no call of the States is necessary.

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THE CHAIR—No call is necessary under any resolution yet passed.

AN INVITATION.

THE CHAIR—I have received a letter, which I will read.

CHICAGO, May 16, 1860.

To the President of the Republican Convention:

The Board of Trade of this city hereby invite the delegates of your Convention, and other visitors to our city, to a short excursion on Lake Michigan; the excursion to leave the dock at Rush street bridge, near the Richmond House, at five o'clock this afternoon. [Applause.]

Judge Goodrich, of Minnesota, I have been requested. in behalf of the Board of Trade of this city, to elicit, so far as may be in a mere remark and not a speech, what shall be the sentiment of the Convention touching that proposition from the Board of Trade.

A voice—Mr. Chairman!

Mr. Goodrich, when I cast my eye about this vast tabernacle, that has been reared by the taste and munificence of the ladies and gentlemen of Chicago, and which has been tendered to the great Republican cause, without money and without price [great applause], I apprehend that every delegate in this Convention will respond aye to the invitation. I have nothing more to say. [Great applause.]

Mr. Dudley, of New Jersey, I move you that the invitation be accepted, and that a committee be appointed to notify the Board of Trade of the acceptance.

Mr. Goodrich, sir.

Mr. Dudley, of New Jersey, I move, sir, that there be a committee of five appointed to inform the Board of Trade that we accept the invitation for five o'clock, and that the committee be appointed by the Chair.

Delegate from Iowa—I move you that it be embraced in that resolution that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Board of Trade for their very liberal offer. Amendment accepted and resolution as amended adopted.

A voice—Three cheers for the ladies of Chicago. Cheers given.

Mr. Horace Greeley, of Oregon, have we provided for a Committee on Platform?

THE PRESIDENT—We have not.

Mr. Greeley, then I move we have a call of the States for the purpose of appointing a Committee on Platform.

THE PRESIDENT—Will that be in order until after the permanent organization?

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, I move the appointment of a committee of one from each State by the respective delegations from the several States, to report resolutions and a Platform, and that the

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Committee be made up in the ordinary manner, by calling the roll of the States.

THE PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Oregon has already moved that—

Mr. Greeley, I withdraw mine.

Mr. S. P. Oyler, of Indiana, I move to lay the motion on the table until after the permanent organization.

Gov. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, will the Chair inform the Convention what motion is before it?

The President stated the motion of Mr. Cartter.

Gov. Reeder, I rise to oppose the motion. It is the business of this Convention now to perfect its organization. You have appointed a Committee on Credentials, in the order of business, and on Permanent Organization, and because we are not organized it seems to me improper.

A voice (on the opposite side of the house)—Speak louder—we cannot hear you.

Gov. Reeder, all I have to say is not worth talking to those at the other end of the platform. I merely desire to say that I think this motion at this time is out of place. It will be time enough to provide for a platform and resolutions when we shall have organized this Convention, and we are appointing committees now simply because we are not organized. This matter of a platform and resolutions is not a preliminary affair. It is not at all necessary to our organization, and therefore it is upon the same footing with the nomination of a candidate and should wait until the permanent and perfect organization of the Convention before it should be entered upon.

Mr. Cartter, I made that motion with the view of putting the Convention at work; whether the resolution is passed to-day or to-morrow, it will be passed by the same body of men and with the view to the declaration of their sentiments. It is a laborious work and ought to be performed while the Convention is in its vigor. The Chairman cannot fail to have remarked the indisposition to labor, when within fifteen minutes after getting together, a pleasure excursion is voted here. I hope it will be a pleasant one, but I think before we take it we had better designate those who will enter upon the performances of the sphere of labor in this Convention, and we can do it as well now as any time.

Mr. Eli Thayer, of Oregon, I am opposed to the amendment which has been offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. I do not consider that the mere appointment of this committee is at all inconsistent with the preliminary business of this Convention. It is not proposed and it is not expected that this committee will report to-day. It is important, as the gentleman who preceded me has said, that this committee should have ample time

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to consider what shall be the Platform of the Republican party in the coming campaign. This, sir, is the great burden of the work of this Convention, and I hope there will be no time lost in appointing this committee, and that they themselves will lose no time in the labor that is entrusted to their hands. I am, therefore, opposed to this amendment which proposes delay. The States and Territories are ready to name the man who shall constitute for each a member of this committee. The State of Oregon is now ready.

[Cries of "Question."]

Mr. Hazard, of Rhode Island, the gentlemen who advocate the postponement are right in theory, but it is obvious that the practical operation of this Convention would be retarded by a postponement. I hope, therefore, the motion to postpone will be withdrawn.

Gov. Reeder, the gentleman says we are right. If we are right why should we be voted down. It seems to me that when gentlemen concede that we are right, there is generally nothing remaining to do but to carry out the right. We are transgressing the right here, and for the purpose of what? For the purpose of convenience and because it can make no difference. It may make no difference now, but the time may come, and will come, when it will make a difference, and then this action will be cited as a precedent. I am opposed to making bad precedents. I believe that the only way to pursue is, to do it right and in order. If you appoint a committee, what is to prevent that committee from reporting to this Convention before you have made a permanent organization? And if they do so report, what is to prevent a majority of this Convention passing upon the resolutions and platform before you are organized? Do the gentlemen desire to see that? Do they desire to establish a precedent such as that, which may be used at some great crisis in the future for purposes of evil? It is admitted that we are right and it seems to me that there the question ends.

Mr. Cartter, the gentleman from Pennsylvania is begging a little more than I am willing to grant. I do not feel that the first movement is right. There is no such question in this quarter of the hall. [Loud cries of "question," which interrupting the speaker, he took his seat.]

The motion of Mr. Oyler, of Indiana, to lay over the motion to appoint a Committee on Platform and Resolutions until after the permanent organization of the Convention, was then put to vote and lost.

Judge Hogeboom, of New York, I move to amend the motion to appoint a Committee on Platform and Resolutions, by adding,

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"that the Committee report as soon as convenient after the permanent organization of the Convention."

Mr. Cartter, I accept the amendment.

Mr. Oyler, of Indiana, we have already appointed a Committee on Credentials, and for what? To know authoritatively and legally who have a right to a seat upon this floor. Now, sir, we are going on to provide for the most important thing that this Convention will do, except the designation of the man who shall bear our standard. I shall not attempt to say that there is one man on this floor not legally entitled to his seat, but we have no evidence of the fact. It is true, we have entered upon this floor and have arranged ourselves at the different points which we designated by the names of the States, and the fair presumption is that the men who fill these seats are honestly entitled to them; but that is no proof of the fact, and I undertake to say that this proceeding is against all precedent, and a bad precedent to be set by a Republican Convention. Why this haste? We will "work in haste and repent at leisure." What harm can be done by deferring this until after the Committee on Permanent Organization report, and the Convention organizes itself as a Republican National Convention? We are not that yet. I hope that delegates will consider; that they will stop. Let us be organized before we do or undertake to do the most important work we have got to accomplish.

Mr. Greeley, if there is any question here as to the right of any delegation on this floor, I am willing that this matter should not be urged. But if there is none, then let us have this committee appointed. It will take thirty-six hours for the committee to prepare their report, and the committee should be appointed now so they can have full opportunity. If there is any question as to the right of any delegate, we will waive it.

Gov. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, the first thing for us is to be right. We are assembled not for deliberation, but for organization. Let us organize and then deliberate, and until we have perfected our organization, it will be a dangerous precedent to set up here with reference to a new party that is organized for the government of this country, through a generation, to establish a precedent which, when contestants come here from the Pacific and the South, will lead to difficulties on the floor. We have time enough. Better devote it to the organization of this Convention rather than to an excursion; thankful as we are for the hospitality of the city, we have a greater duty to perform to this country. I move to lay this (Mr. Cartter's) resolution on the table.

The motion of Gov. Boutwell to lay on the table was carried. [Loud cheers.]

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Mr. Sweetser, of Massachusetts, I move that when this Convention adjourn, it adjourn to meet at three o'clock this afternoon. The reason why I move this is, that it seems to me desirable that we should sometime proceed with the business of the Convention. If we are going to take up the time in excursions on the lake, I do not know when we will have time for business. I am willing to change the time if anybody can tell us that we can return from the excursion in time for a meeting of business this evening.

Mr. Ben. Eggleston, of Ohio, I move to amend by making the time ten o'clock to-morrow morning. Now, Mr. President, I am very well satisfied that the motion just voted down in reference to the resolution, will make the Convention one day longer, and we delegates from Ohio, some of us, are running out of funds. It will take a day or two longer. It takes an hour and a half to seat the delegates, and to seat outsiders from two to four hours. [Laughter.] I want it understood that I came here to work and am not going on the lake; nor is any delegate who came here to work. But I am willing to amend my motion by making it five o'clock if desired.

Judge James, of New York, if we had appointed the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, then we could have with safety adjourned until to-morrow morning; but we have voted that down. We want to make a permanent organization in order that the committee may be appointed, so that it may have the resolutions ready to present to us to-morrow morning.

Mr. Judd, of Delaware, it seems to me, sir, if you undertake to assemble this Convention at three o'clock, the business for which the Committee on Credentials and the Committee on Permanent Organization have been appointed will not be accomplished.

A Delegate from Minnesota—Make it four, five or six.

Mr. Judd, my reasons for making the suggestion is, I believe every man here wants his dinner, and they are scattered over the entire city of Chicago, and if they are as hungry as I think they are, before they can get their dinners and meet at the committee room, the time will have expired, and the duties will not be performed by the committees, unless some gentleman has in his pocket a programme to be followed without consulting anybody in regard to what is to be done by the committee. I say, sir, you must give them time if you expect them to act understandingly; and there is no time now between two and three o'clock to accomplish the purposes for which these committees have been appointed.

Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, I would ask the gentleman to name the hour of seven this evening.

Mr. Judd, I accept the amendment.

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Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, this hall is engaged for to-night, as I observe by a notice in the city papers this morning, for an exhibition of the Zouave drill.

Mr. Judd, I beg leave to say that this hall is under the control of this Convention, whenever they want it, day or night. [Applause.]

Mr. Eggleston, I accept the amendment to meet at seven o'clock this evening.

Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, there are a large portion of the members of this Convention who cannot get together and have a night session. There are too many of them to call this vast Convention together for a night session. I hope the night session will go down.

Mr. James, of New York, Mr. Chairman, if any gentleman who voted for the resolution that has passed, against appointing the Committee on Resolutions, will move a reconsideration, there will be no difficulty in making an adjournment until to-morrow morning, unless this is voted down. We will lose less time by this course. I cannot make the motion.

A Delegate—Yes, you can. You voted with the majority.

Mr. James, then I move a reconsideration.

THE CHAIR—Did the gentleman from New York vote in favor of the motion?

Mr. James, I did not.

Mr. Hogeboom, of New York, Mr. Chairman—

THE CHAIR—I understand the motion to be to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was just laid on the table.

A Delegate from Michigan—I rise to make that motion. I move that the motion to lay on the table be reconsidered, and the appointment of the Committee on Resolutions be now taken from the table, or reconsidered.

A Delegate from Indiana [amid cries of "Question!" "Question!"] —I rise to a point of order. I make this point of order, viz.: A motion to reconsider the last, while there is a motion pending for our adjournment that has not been withdrawn.

Mr. Cartter, I want to make a motion if it is in order to make a motion.

THE CHAIR—It is the opinion of the Chair that the motion to reconsider is not in order, for this reason: That there was pending before this Convention at the time a resolution to adjourn until seven o'clock this evening, and to that there was an amendment that the hour be fixed at nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

A voice—That motion is now withdrawn.

THE CHAIR—Then the other is in order.

A Delegate—I renew the motion.

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THE CHAIR—The question is, shall the vote to lay on the table be reconsidered.

Mr. Preston King, of New York, I am satisfied that one of the difficulties in the progress of our business is this excursion on the lake—a very pleasant one, and one for which I feel, and I have no doubt the entire Convention feels indebted to the hospitality and generosity of the citizens of Chicago. But our object here is business, and not pleasure. I trust, therefore that we may make an adjournment which will conform to the convenience of all. If we have old gentlemen here, or others, who, from any cause, do not desire to have an evening session, let us adjourn to meet again at five o'clock, and we can, between that time and dark, perform the acts necessary to a complete organization, and thus save at least a day's time of the Convention. If we adjourn until to-morrow, we lose certainly an entire day. There is no doubt about that. This Committee on Platform and Resolutions ought to have this evening to sit; and while I did not regard it as material whether that committee was appointed before or after organization, I am willing to concede that it is more regular and more in accordance with parlimentary usage that we should take the course that was suggested here. Let us now act with a spirit of conciliation and unanimity if we can. I think if we adjourn to five o'clock we may get together and then organize and appoint our committees and be prepared to-morrow morning to go to work. That will make it, of course, impossible or inconvenient to go on this excursion, but it is better that we should attend to our labors, even at a little sacrifice, than differ in Convention.

A Delegate from Missouri—I hope the members of this Convention will not stultify themselves in accepting the invitation so kindly tendered to us and then immediately rescinding it.

Mr. King, I am going to move that the proposition in relation to that excursion be referred to our Business Committee, between whom and the Board of Trade some arrangement can be made. I move that the communication from the Board of Trade be referred to the Business Committee of this Convention.

THE CHAIR—The gentleman from New York will please understand there is still pending a motion to take from the table the resolution heretofore laid upon the table.

Mr. Preston King, if that is insisted upon, we must take the voice of the convention upon it. My object in making this motion was to see if we could not come to some understanding, or reach some conclusion, with unanimity. [Cries of "question, question."]

THE CHAIR—The question is, shall the resolution laid upon the table, respecting the platform, be now taken from the table.

Mr. Sweetser, of Massachusetts, does not that require a two-thirds vote to do it, under the rules of the House of Representa-

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tives? I moved to adjourn until five o'clock; somebody else moved to amend, and adjourn until nine or ten o'clock to-morrow morning. My original motion has never been withdrawn.

THE CHAIR—I so understand it to be.

Mr. Sweetser, the gentleman withdrew his motion. I still ask to have my motion put.

THE CHAIR—The question is, shall this Convention, when it adjourns, adjourn to meet at five o'clock this afternoon; and the amendment is, to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

Mr. Cleveland, of Connecticut, I am sure, gentlemen, that you are all disposed to act as you look—like gentlemen. I desire to say to you that we have a very polite and gentlemanly communication from the Board of Trade, and we have by a vote accepted it. Now I agree with my friend from New York, that we had better not do it, but to get out of it and treat them fairly, we have only to make a motion to reconsider, and then we can dispose of it in such a manner as the convention shall see fit, and in such a manner as is consistent with the gentlemanly character of those who made the invitation. In passing a motion to accept it, and then voting to adjourn till five o'clock, we seem to throw contempt upon their very civil invitation. If the gentleman will withdraw his motion, for the purpose of making a motion to reconsider, I will make that motion, and then we can get out of the trouble.

Mr. Sweetser, I withdraw the motion simply for that purpose.

THE CHAIR—The difficulty is here: If you withdraw your motion touching the hour of adjournment, then comes before the Convention, as I understand it, the motion to take from the table the resolution concerning the Platform. The motion before the Convention is that we adjourn, when we do adjourn, until to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

Motion put and lost. [Applause.]

THE CHAIR—Now the proposition before the Convention is that when the Convention adjourns, it adjourn to meet at five o'clock this afternoon.

Motion put and carried. [Applause.]

Mr. Giddings (loud cheers), I rise for the purpose of alluding to the invitation which has been accepted by this Convention, received from the Board of Trade to meet there at five o'clock for a pleasure excursion. I do this, sir, from a sincere conviction that every gentleman who has come here has come impressed with the solemnity of the business before us—knowing that we are here to perform high and solemn duties to our country and ourselves, and in justice to the cause in which we are employed, we should be zealously engaged in the business before us; and here I will take leave to say we have had a precedent recently set before us, far south of this, which should caution us about spend-

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ing our time here to the wearying of the public mind in witnessing our discussions. If we can close up our business to-morrow by two or three o'clock, it will tell upon the community with a moral force that is incalculable. [Loud and prolonged applause.] Now, Mr. Chairman, I will labor from this time until three o'clock to-morrow in order to obtain the object of a final adjournment at that time. [Renewed cheering.] Then, sir, I am willing to accept the kind invitation of the Board of Trade here, and enjoy the pleasure of going up on the proposed excursion. For the purpose of reconsidering this vote, and then referring it to a committee that they shall make the arrangements with the Board of Trade, so that at our adjournment we will meet them and cordially accept the invitation and take this excursion, I now move that we reconsider the vote by which that motion was carried, accepting the pleasure excursion. Motion put and carried.

Mr. Lowry, of Pennsylvania, I move you, sir, that a committee of one from each State be appointed by the Chair to confer with the Board of Trade.

Voices—Make it a committee of five.

Mr. Lowry, I will modify my resolution and make it a committee of five.

A Delegate from Massachusetts—We have already a committee appointed upon the order of business, and I suggest that this matter of the invitation of the Board of Trade of Chicago can be referred to it. I make the motion, that reference be made.

A Delegate from Vermont—I hope that the committee will give the Board of Trade notice, for they are probably now making their preparations for the trip, and certainly we should give them notice.

Motion to appoint a committee of five to confer adopted.

The Chair then appointed the following committee:

Morrow B. Lowry, of Pennsylvania; Aaron Goodrich, of Minnesota; Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio; F. P. Blair, of Maryland; C. F. Cleveland, of Connecticut.

The Convention then adjourned until five o'clock p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order at 5:15 p. m. by the Temporary President.

THE INVITATION.

Mr. Lowry, of Pennsylvania, I would ask leave to make a report. The committee have called upon our friends, the Board of Trade, who invited us to the excursion. They extended to us an invitation and we accepted it. They left immediately and prepared themselves to carry out the arrangement that they had proposed for our enjoyment. They have a perfect fleet down there now in

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readiness. Before I could get there—before I could find the parties who have invited us, they had their fleet ready to carry us, and large enough to carry us all. They say that if we are so pressed with business we can hold the Convention on the decks of their vessels if we desire it, and we can, so they say, have their cabins for rooms to caucus in. They are disposed very much to press us and will wait one hour; that will make it six o'clock. Now, inasmuch as the people of Chicago extend to us this invitation, I hope it will be unanimously accepted for six o'clock.

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, I rise to a question of order. There is one question already before the house.

Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, say "as soon thereafter as possible." We may perhaps have to wait fifteen or twenty minutes thereafter. I hope that we shall go on and perfect our organization, and I believe that can be done within the time named. I hope the Convention will get ready at once to take that excursion and go in an hour.

Mr. Hazard, of Rhode Island, the proposition now made, as I understand it, differs only from that of the morning in this: it is now said that it will not interfere with the progress of business, [Cries of "Never mind," and much confusion.] but it does not meet the case. I suppose that we are here on important business. We are here, believing as was said this morning [much confusion], believing that the government is pressed on both sides, one half of the Democratic party threatening us with annihilation—

So much confusion was here made that the speaker's words could not be heard at the reporter's desk.

Loud calls for the "question."

The question to adjourn to six o'clock being submitted was lost amid much applause.

The President announced that the reports of the committees were in order, and asked for the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. [Cries of "Good."]

Mr. Hinckley, of California, I ask if it is not in accordance with usage that the Committee on Credentials to first report?

THE PRESIDENT—I do not know that there is any special order in which committees should report.

Mr. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, I move that the report of the Committee on Credentials be called, so that we may know who are members of the Convention.

The motion of Mr. Kelly was carried.

Mr. Comins, of Massachusetts, stated that the Committee on Permanent Organization had agreed upon a report, and that its Chairman would be present very soon to present the report to the Convention.

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The President called for the report of the Committee on Credentials, if the Chairman was present.

Judge Tracy, of California, I understand that the Committee on the Order of Business is ready to report in part, and inasmuch as no other committee seems to be ready to report, I propose that the Chair call for the report of that committee.

THE PRESIDENT—I think that if the Committee on Permanent Organization is ready to report, it would be best to receive that.

Judge Tracy, certainly, if they are in a state of crystalization. [Laughter.]

THE PRESIDENT—I understand that they are ready.

Mr. Horton, of the Committee on Permanent Organization, made a report in part that they have agreed upon Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts.

A voice—George?

THE PRESIDENT—Hon. George Ashmun [a voice—"Good boy"—laughter], of Massachusetts, for President of the Convention. [Prolonged cheers.]

The report in reference to the selection of Permanent President was unanimously adopted.

A voice—Nary a "no." [Laughter.]

The Temporary President appointed Hon. Preston King, of New York, and Carl Schurz, Esq., a committee to conduct the President to the Chair. The appearance of Mr. Schurz was the signal for loud cheers.

The President was conducted to the Chair amid enthusiastic applause. When this had subsided he addressed the Convention.

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE ASHMUN.

Gentlemen of the Convention Republicans, Americans:—My first duty is to express to you the deep sense which I feel of this distinguished mark of your confidence. In the spirit in which it has been offered I accept it, sensible of the difficulties which surround the position, but cheered and sustained by the faith that the same generosity that has brought me here will carry me through the discharge of the duties. I will not shrink from this position, at the same time the post of danger as well as the post of honor. [Applause.] Gentlemen, we have come here to-day at the call of our country from widely separated homes, to fulfil a great and important duty. No ordinary call has brought us together. Nothing but a momentous question would have called this vast multitude here to-day. Nothing but a deep sense of the danger into which our government is fast running could have rallied the people thus in this city to-day, for the purpose of rescuing the government from the deep degradation into which it has fallen. [Loud applause.] We have come here at the call of our country for the purpose of preparing for the most solemn duty that free men have to perform. We are here in the ordinary capacity as delegates of the people, to prepare for the formation and carrying on of a new administration, and with the help of the people we

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will do it. [Applause.] No mere controversy about miserable abstractions has brought us here to-day; we have not come here on any idle question. The sacrifice which most of us have made in the extended journey, and in the time devoted to it, could only have been made upon some solemn call; and the stern look which I see, the solemn look which I see on every face, and the earnest behavior which has been manifested in all the preliminary dis cussions, shows full well that we all have a true, deep sense of the solemn obligation which is resting upon us. Gentlemen, it does not belong to me to make an extended address; it is for me rather to assist in the details of the business that belong to this Convention. But allow me to say that I think we have a right here to-day, in the name of the American people, to say that we impeach the administration of our general Government of the highest crimes which can be committed against a Constitutional government, against a free people, and against humanity. [Prolonged cheers.] The catalogue of its crimes it is not for me to recite. It is written upon every page of the history of the present administration, and I care not how many paper protests the President may send into the House of Representatives [laughter and applause], we here, the grand inquest of the nation, will find out for him and his confederates not merely punishment terrible and sure, but a remedy which shall be satisfactory. [Prolonged cheers.] Gentlemen, before proceeding to the duties of the Convention, allow me to congratulate you and the people upon the striking feature which, I think, must have been noticed by everybody who has mixed in the preliminary discussions of the people who have gathered in this beautiful city. It is that brotherly kindness and generous emulation which has marked every conversation and every discussion, showing a desire for nothing else but their country's good. Earnest, warm and generous preferences are expressed, ardent hopes and fond purposes are declared, but not within the three days I have spent among you all have I heard one unkind word uttered by one man towards another. I hail it as an augury of sucess, and if during the proceedings of this Convention you will unite to perpetuate that feeling and allow it to pervade all your proceedings, I declare to you that I think it is the surest and brightest promise of our success, whoever may be the standard bearer in the contest that is pending. [Applause.] In that spirit, gentlemen, let us now proceed to the business—to the great work which the American people have given into our hands to do. [Applause.]

THE OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION.

Mr. Marsh, of New Jersey, the Committee on Permanent Organization having reported in part, desires to complete its report.

The committee appointed to recommend officers for the permanent organization of this Convention have attended to that duty, and report that the officers shall consist of a President, twenty-seven Vice-Presidents, and twenty-six Secretaries; and the following gentlemen are recommended to fill the offices respectively named:

President, Hon. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts.

Vice-Presidents—California, A. A. Sargent; Connecticut, C. F. Cleveland; Delaware, John C. Clark; Iowa, H. P. Scholte; Illinois,

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David Davis; Indiana, John Beard; Kentucky, W. D. Gallagher; Maine, Samuel F. Hersey; Maryland, Wm. L. Marshall; Massachusetts, Ensign H. Kellog; Michigan, J. W. Ferry; Minnesota, Aaron Goodrich; Missouri, Henry T. Blow; New York, Wm. Curtis Noyes; New Jersey, G. E. Rogers; New Hampshire, Wm. Haile; Ohio, Geo. D. Burgess; Oregon, Joel Burlingame; Pennsylvania, Thaddeus Stevens; Rhode Island, Rowland G. Hazard; Texas, M. S. C. Chandler; Vermont, Wm. Hebord; Virginia, R. Crawford; Wisconsin, Hans Crocker; Nebraska, A. S. Paddock; Kansas, W. W. Ross; Dist. Columbia, Geo. Harrington.

Secretaries—California, D. J. Staples; Connecticut, H. H. Starkweather; Delaware, B. J. Hopkins; Iowa, Wm. M. Stone; Illinois, O. L. Davis; Indiana, Daniel D. Pratt; Kentucky, Stephen J. Howes; Maine, C. A. Wing; Maryland, Wm. E. Coale; Massachusetts, C. O. Rogers; Michigan, W. S. Stoughton; Minnesota, D. A. Secombe; Missouri, J. K. Kidd; New York, Geo. W. Curtis; New Jersey, Edward Brettle; New Hampshire, Nathan Hubbard; Ohio, H. J. Beebe; Oregon, Eli Thayer; Pennsylvania, J. B. Bell; Rhode Island, R. R. Hazard; Texas, Donald Henderson; Vermont, John W. Stewart; Virginia, A. W. Campbell; Wisconsin, L. F. Frisbie; Kansas, John A. Martin; Nebraska, H. P. Hitchcock.

On motion, the report was received and adopted *nem. con.*

Mr. Tracy, of California, I move that a committee of one from each State and Territory be appointed, to be nominated by the delegates of the respective States, on Resolutions and Platform.

Mr. Cartter, and I move that all the resolutions submitted to this Convention be referred to that committee without debate.

Mr. Tracy, I accept the amendment.

PRESENTATION OF A GAVEL.

Mr. Judd, I ask the gentlemen to suspend for one moment, while I make a presentation to the President of this Convention. I am directed, Mr. President, on behalf of one of the working mechanic Republicans of Chicago, to present to you, sir, this emblem of your authority. [Exhibiting a beautifully wrought, oak gavel, finished and ornamented with ivory and silver.] It is not, sir, the wood and the ivory and the silver—

Mr. Hinckley, of California, [interrupting,] I rise to a point of order. ["Sit down," "Go on with the presentation," and great confusion.] The Committee on Order of Business has not yet been reported from; when that committee reports perhaps the Convention will find the adoption or rejection of that report will settle the controversy in reference to the appointment of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

THE CHAIR—The Chair holds that that is not a point of order. [Applause.] The question is upon the resolution of the gentleman from California (Mr. Tracy).

Mr. Judd, I would not, sir, have attempted to have made this presentation if I had not supposed that I had the unanimous consent at this time of the Convention. [Applause, and cries of "Go

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on',' "go on."] I was saying to you, sir, that it was not the wood, or the ivory, or the silver, of which that little instrument is composed, that renders it valuable. It has, like the Republican party, a history. It is a piece of oak taken from Commodore Perry's flag ship—the Lawrence. [Applause.] It is not from its size that its power is to be estimated. It is, like the Republican rule, strong, but not noisy. [Great enthusiasm.] It is not that the Republicans require a noisy and violent government, or they require riotously to put down the sham Democracy; but they require, and intend to apply to them and to all those persons who seek disunion and keep up a cry about destroying our Government, the little force necessary to control and restrain them, like the little force which will be necessary for you, Mr. President, to use in presiding over the deliberations of this Convention. [Great cheers.]

There is a motto, too, adopted by that mechanic, which should be a motto for every Republican in this Convention—the motto borne upon the flag of the gallant Perry. "Don't Give Up the the Ship." [Great applause.] Mr. President, in presenting this to you, in addition to the motto furnished by the mechanic who manufactured this, as an evidence of his warmth and zeal in the Republican Cause, I would recommend to this Convention to believe that the person who will be nominated here, can, when the election is over in November, send a despatch to Washington in the language of the gallant Perry, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours." [Terrific cheering. Voices, "Name, name."] Mr. President, in the beginning I should have named, Mr. C. G. Thomas, of Chicago. [Hearty applause.]

THE PRESIDENT—In behalf of the Convention I accept from the hand of the gentleman from Illinois the present made by the Chicago mechanic; and I have only to say to-day that all the auguries are that we shall meet the enemy and they shall be ours. [Cheers.]

Mr. Dembitz, of Kentucky, announced that the Committee on Rules and Order of Business had matured a partial report, defining the manner in which votes should be taken in the Convention. He moved that that report be now called up.

The President announced that the question on the appointment of a Committee on Resolutions and Platform was pending.

Mr. Dembitz moved that the question on the appointment of a Committee on Platform and Resolutions be postponed until the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business had been received.

The motion of Mr. Dembitz was lost.

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THE PRESIDENT—The question is now on the appointment of a Committee on Resolutions and Platform to whom to refer without debate all resolutions or propositions.

Gov. Reeder, Mr. President—

Voices—"Name."

THE PRESIDENT—Gov. Reeder, of Pennsylvania. [Prolonged cheers.]

Gov. Reeder, I understand the resolution before the Convention to be that a Committee of one from each State be appointed for the purpose of drafting a Platform and Resolutions. Am I right?

THE PRESIDENT—You are, substantially.

Gov. Reeder, then I move to amend so that it may include the Territories.

Judge Tracy, that is the language of the motion.

The motion to appoint a Committee on Platform and Resolutions was then carried.

The President suggested to the Convention the propriety of having a roll of the Convention arranged under the heads of the different States made out by the Secretaries and to be printed for the use of the Convention. He then proposed to call the States for the appointment of a Committee on Resolutions and Platform.

Mr. James, of New York, before that is put, I would suggest that the Committee on Credentials report. We refused to adopt this very resolution before dinner.

THE CHAIR—The Chair is about to call the roll of the States, for the purpose of receiving the names of gentlemen to constitute a Committee on Resolutions.

THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

The roll was then called and the committee constituted as follows:

Maine, George F. Talbott; New Hampshire, Amos Tuck; Vermont, Ebenezer M. Briggs; Massachusetts, George S. Boutwell; Rhode Island, Benjamin T. Eames; Connecticutt, S. W. Kellogg; New York, H. R. Selden; New Jersey, Thos. H. Dudley; Pennsylvania, William Jessup; Delaware, N. B. Smithers; Maryland, F. P. Blair; Virginia, Alfred Caldwell; Ohio, Joseph H. Barrett; Kentucky, George D. Blakey; Indiana, Wm. T. Otto; Michigan, Austin Blair; Illinois, Gustavus Kœrner; Wisconsin, Carl Schurz; Minnesota, Stephen Miller; Iowa, J. A. Kasson; Missouri, Chas. L. Bernays; California, F. P. Tracy; Oregon, Horace Greeley; Texas, H. A. Shaw; Dist. Columbia, A. G. Hill; Nebraska, A. Sidney Gardner; Kansas, John P. Hatterschiedt.

OTHER REPORTS.

Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, the Committee on Business have a report prepared in part, but they are detained somewhat by the want of the report of the Committee on Credentials.

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Mr. Hopkins, of Massachusetts, in response to the suggestion from the Chair, I move you that the Secretaries of this Convention be directed to prepare a full list of the delegates to this Convention.

Mr. ———, of Missouri, I would move as an amendment, that it contain their post office addresses.

THE CHAIR—That, I suppose, will be attended to. It will all be done under the direction of the Secretaries.

Motion to print adopted.

ANOTHER INVITATION.

THE CHAIR—I have received a communication from the Zouave Guard directed to this Convention, which Capt. Rogers, of Massachusetts, will read.

Charles O. Rogers read as follows:

ARMORY OF THE ZOUAVE CADET GUARD,
MAY 16, 1860.

To the Honorable Members of the National Republican Convention—Gentlemen: In compliance with the wishes of the citizens, we are, through the courtesy of the Committee, permitted to occupy the "Wigwam" this evening for an exhibition drill, to which we beg to return an invitation to the members of your honorable body. We shall feel highly honored by the presence of all who can find leisure to attend. Tickets of admission will be found at the headquarters of the different delegations.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

E. E. ELLSWORTH,
Commander U. S. Zouave Cadets.

On motion, the invitation to be present was accepted with thanks.

MORE PRINTING.

Mr. Kaufman, of Pennsylvania, I would suggest to the Committee on Platform, before they present to the Convention their report, that they have a large number of copies printed and distributed to all members so that they can see it. It will be impossible to have it read here so that we can understand it clearly, and members will not know if they are in favor of it or against it. I will make a motion to that effect.

Motion to print carried.

ABOUT ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. Vorhies, of Indiana, I move that when this Convention adjourns, it do adjourn until to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

Many voices—"Make it ten."

THE CHAIR—It is moved to amend by substituting "ten."

Mr. Tracy, of California, nine o'clock is too early. I have come a long way, many thousand miles, to attend this Convention and am tired and I can't get up so early.

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Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, there are several committees who have business to attend to; one of which I know meets at eight and another at half-past eight, and it will be impossible for them to get through their business by nine o'clock. In endeavoring to save an hour, I think the Convention will waste much more time. I think that it would be more judicious to meet at ten o'clock when the committees can come in with their reports.

The motion to adjourn to ten o'clock prevailed.

Mr. Rollins, of New Hampshire, offered the following resolution:

Resolved: That the delegations from each State and Territory represented in this Convention be requested to designate and report the name of one individual to serve as a member of the National Republican Committee for the ensuing four years.

Mr. Nourse, of Iowa, moved to amend the resolution so that the delegations should be left to select members of the National Committee who were not members of the Convention.

The amendment was accepted and the resolution adopted.

The Convention then, on motion, adjourned to Thursday morning at ten o'clock.

SECOND DAY.

The Convention assembled in the Republican Wigwam at ten o'clock, pursuant to adjournment, and was called to order by the President.

THE CHAIR [Amid great confusion]—It is quite apparent that the delegates are incommoded by the gentlemen on the platform, who are not members of this Convention; they are respectfully invited not to occupy seats devoted to the members of the Convention. [Applause.] I will suggest that each delegation, through its chairman, purge itself.

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, I will set the example. Those gentlemen who do not belong to the Ohio delegation will be kind enough to retire. [Applause.]

Prayer was then offered up by Rev. W. W. Patten, of the Second Congregational Church, Chicago, as follows:

Let us unite in prayer. Great God, Thou art the blessed and the only potentate, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Thou only hast immortality. Thou dwellest in light that no man can approach unto Thee, whom no man hath seen nor mortal vision can see, see. We are Thy weak and Thine erring creatures, and we draw nigh to Thee in all our dependence, that we may avail ourselves of Thine almighty strength and boundless wisdom. We thank Thee that Thou hast given us the great boon of existence; that Thou hast sent us into this world to work out our destiny and to do Thy will; privileging us with the opportunity of being workers with Thee in Thy benevolent and wise plan. We thank Thee that we have had our birth and residence in this land; and that we have come into the world to act our part in these latter days of its history. We pray Thee to qualify us to act that part aright, as men should act who live in this nineteenth century. And we

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pray Thee, Oh God, that Thy blessing may rest upon our country. We thank Thee that our fathers came over here and laid the foundations of our country in prayer and in faith, desiring here to serve God and their fellow men. And we pray Thee, that that same spirit may dwell in their children; and may lead them to bring forth the fruits of righteousness. Help this great people to remember that it is righteousness that exalteth a nation, while sin is a shame unto any people. We thank Thee that Thou hast permitted us to witness this great convocation of the friends of freedom and humanity. We pray for Thy blessing to rest upon all in this Convention who have come hither to represent the friends of freedom in this nation. We beseech of Thee that Thou wilt give them the wisdom which is from above which begins in the fear of God. Grant that they may be saved from that fear of man which Thy word declares bringeth a snare; and we pray Thee that they may be enabled to act in a manner worthy of the responsibility committed to them. Grant that in their deliberations they may be aided by the Spirit, and may be brought to such conclusions as shall be for the furtherance of the cause of liberty and of humanity in this great nation, so that they shall not only receive the commendation of their fellow men, but shall be prepared to meet God, and that slave, whose friend God is, at the great day of account. All this we ask in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

INVITATIONS.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair begs leave to lay before the Convention the following letter:

CHICAGO, May 17, 1860.

Hon. George Ashmun, President of the Republican Convention, Chicago:

DEAR SIR—The members of the Convention are invited to an excursion over the C. & R. I. railroad, to the city of Rock Island, crossing the Mississippi river bridge to the city of Davenport, Iowa, any day during their stay in Chicago which the Convention may designate. The hour of leaving Chicago and returning, subject to the wishes of the Convention.

I am respectfully yours,
HENRY FARNUM, President.

THE PRESIDENT—It will be laid on the table for the present. The Chair has another communication:

To the Honorable President of the National Republican Convention:

SIR—Can you not arrange to send out some effective speakers to entertain twenty thousand Republicans and their wives, outside the building? [Great applause, and cries for "Corwin," and others.]

THE RULES.

THE PRESIDENT—The first business in order will be to hear the report of the Committee on the Order of Business. Is that Committee ready to report?

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Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, Mr. President, I am instructed by the Committee on Order of Business and Rules to make the following report:

RULE 1. Upon all subjects before the Convention, the States and Territories shall be called in the following order:

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Texas, Wisconsin, Iowa, California, Minnesota, Oregon, Kansas, Nebraska, Dist. Columbia.

RULE 2. Four votes shall be cast by the delegates at large of each State, and each Congressional District shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

RULE 3. The report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be acted upon before the Convention proceeds to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President.

RULE 4. Three hundred and four votes, being a majority of the whole number of votes when all the States of the Union are represented in this Convention, according to the rates of representation presented in Rule 2, shall be required to nominate the candidates of this Convention for the offices of President and Vice-President. [Applause, and cries of "No! No!"]

RULE 5. The rules of the House of Representatives shall continue to be the rules of this Convention in so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

A MINORITY REPORT.

Mr. James, of New York, before we proceed to act upon those rules, I wish to say that when this committee met there were but seventeen out of twenty-five members present. That the 4th rule which has been adopted was only adopted by one majority, and as a member of that committee I propose to offer a substitute, which I will read as follows:——

THE PRESIDENT—Will the gentleman waive it until the 4th rule comes before the meeting?

Mr. James, I suppose the amendment should be submitted before we enter upon the duty of considering the report.

THE PRESIDENT—It will be much more convenient for the gentleman to present his amendment when it comes up.

Mr. James, It is a minority report.

THE PRESIDENT—It is in order then.

Mr. James, the minority of the Committee on Business and Rules propose the following amendment to the 4th rule, as a minority report:

4th. That a majority of the whole number of votes represented in this Convention, according to the votes prescribed by the 2nd rule, shall be required to nominate a candidate for President and Vice-President. [Applause, and cries of "No! No!"]

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THE PRESIDENT—The first question is upon the first rule.

Mr. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, I desire to ask this House a question.

THE PRESIDENT—Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, has the floor.

Mr. Reeder, I beg the gentleman's pardon; I had not seen him.

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, we are approaching a labor that is going to involve our constituencies in this Convention, and there is no report from the Committee on Credentials. [Voices—"We can't hear you."] Before entering upon the consideration of this report, which I perceive is to be litigated, I propose to go into the battle with the army organized. [Voices—"That's correct," "Good," and so on.] Therefore I ask the postponement of the consideration of the report of the committee, until we have a report from the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. Reeder, that is precisely the suggestion I was going to make.

Mr. Cartter—I knew you were thinking just about right. [Laughter.]

Motion to postpone adopted unanimously.

REPORT ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. Benton, of New Hampshire—On behalf of the Committee on Credentials, I am instructed to make the following report:

The Committee on Credentials report herewith the names and numbers of delegates from the several states as being elected, and deem it proper to say that the states of Pensylvania and New Jersey have appointed four delegates from each Congressional district and eight Senatorial delegates, instead of appointing delegates and alternates; and Iowa has appointed eight delegates from each Congressional districts and sixteen Senatorial delegates. [Laughter.] The Committee also present the names of the delegates present and duly elected from the district of Columbia and the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, leaving it for the Convention to decide whether they shall be permitted to vote in this Convention.

All of which is respectfully presented in behalf of the committee.

The states and territories are specified, and I can read them if the Convention desire it, although the Chairman did not deem it necessary, as they are in the specification accompanying the report.

Mr. Reeder—I desire to know if this Committee has reported what states are represented and entitled to a vote in this Convention. Have they so reported?

Mr. Benton—They have so reported.

Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts—I desire to have that portion of the report read stating which states are represented and entitled to a vote in this Convention, with the number of votes to each.

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Mr. Benton—In accordance with the suggestion, I will read the votes of the states:

California, 8; Conneticut, 12; Delaware, 6; Iowa, 32; Illinois, 22; Indiana, 26: Kentucky, 24; Maine, 16; Maryland, 10; Massachusetts, 26; Michigan, 12; Minnesota, 8; Missouri, 18; New York, 70; New Jersey, 28; New Hampshire, 10; Ohio, 48; Oregon, 5; Pennsylvania, 54; Rhode Island, 8; Texas, 8; Vermont, 10; Virginia, 30; Wisconsin, 10; Kansas, 6; Nebraska, 6; Dist. Columbia, 4.

Mr. Davis, of Mass.—I move that so much of the report as relates to the delegation from Texas be referred back to the committee.

Mr. Wilmot, of Penn.—I move to amend the motion so as to include the states of Maryland, Kentucky and Virginia. I had foreseen before I came to this Convention, that the question would very properly arise as to the propriety of allowing these states to have a full vote in this Convention. We are a Convention of delegates representing a party, having constituencies at home. This is not a mass convention, in which a mere numerical majority of all who choose to attend control the result, but this is a Convention of delegates representing a constituency, and having constituents at home to represent. [Great applause.]

Now, sir, can it be possible that those gentlemen who come here from states in which there is no organized party, or from states in which they cannot maintain an organized party—is it possible that they are to come here and by their votes control the action of the Convention? I can see nothing better calculated to demoralize a party, and to break it up, than just such a proceeding. Why, sir, this nomination is to be the nomination of the Republican party in the Union, not the nomination of respectable gentlemen who may belong to the Republican party in Virginia, Maryland or Kentucky. What are the facts in Maryland? In Maryland, thirty gentlemen assembled in Baltimore for the purpose of sending a delegation to this Convention. Did they assemble as the representatives of a party? Not at all. They have never had a Republican party in Maryland, and, in my judgment, there will be no such party there until the people of the free states shall place this government in different hands, and relieve them from the tyranny which now weighs them down. There are respectable gentlemen in Maryland, many of them, who sympathize with us and our cause; and so there are in every other Southern state; but they are not formed nor forming into a party organization. These gentlemen are not here as the representatives of any organized party at all. If this thing is to be done, the result of the deliberations of this Convention respecting its nominee may be another thing; it may be other than such a result as would be produced by the voices of those only who are properly represented upon this floor. Admit this precedent, sir, and hereafter some candidate, or rather the friends of the candidate may, in their anxiety to procure a result favorable to their wishes, at the next convention we shall have, sir, carry this thing still further; and there will be delegates, not representing any party—but there will be gentlemen, excellent men, no doubt, coming in here from every state of the Union, brought here by influences from the North, but not sent here by a party from home. That will be the result. [Applause.] Sir, they may possibly come here in this

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manner, in a situation of this kind. I cast no imputation upon the gentlemen who come here to this Convention. I have full confidence in their integrity and in the earnestness and zeal with which they are enlisted in the cause; but, sir, in another Convention that may assemble here, gentlemen may come from South Carolina, from Arkansas and from Mississippi, for the express purpose of controlling, demoralizing and breaking up the Republican party. [Loud Cheers.] Now, sir, if this is not stopped, there is no help for us. The true policy of the Republican party is to allow all its members a voice, but in proportion to their numbers. The Committee have reported here that 304 votes shall be necessary to a choice—a majority of the votes of all the states, when a large portion of those states are not represented here. Why have they done that? Why have they broken down the plain old Republican rule, that the majority—the real majority—shall control? Because they know it is necessary for the accomplishment of some object. That rule, if adopted, would establish one precedent in the admission of men here to vote who are not representatives of a party; and then they adopt another mischievous rule for the purpose of rectifying the first. What we want is, that the representatives of the Republican party here should vote for a candidate for President, and that a majority should control. [Tremendous cheering.] That is what we desire. This rule that is proposed, would introduce upon us thirty or forty votes that do not represent any party whatever. They are gentlemen of character, gentlemen of worth, gentlemen who sympathize in this movement heartily; but they represent no organized party—they have no constituency at home. You admit them here, and then to avoid the consequences of your first wrongful act, you require 304 votes for the nomination of a candidate. I therefore move that this question respecting Texas, embraced in the first motion, embrace also, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and the District of Columbia, and all be referred back to this committee.

Mr. Ewing, of Pennsylvania. I deprecate the sentiment of my friend from Pennsylvania. [Voice, "That's the talk." Applause.] We all come here as Republicans, and those men who came here from the states named deserve ten times more credit than those who came here from the free states. Why, sir, disfranchise our friends from Virginia, a border state—a free state so far as concerns Western Virginia? Sir, shall they be disfranchised in this Convention of Republicans [voices, "No! no!"] by Pennsylvania, New York, or New England, because they have the courage to stand up in a slave state for Republicanism and for free thought? [Applause.] While, sir, we may not be willing to give those states the full power of the whole delegation of the whole state, yet in the name of God shall they not represent their immediate districts? It cannot be that a Convention of Republicans assembled here from these whole United States will ever adopt such an outrage as to disfranchise our friends that come from the Southern States. Why, sir, I was mortified at such a sentiment coming from my distinguished friend from Pennsylvania, that these gentlemen who have come here in defiance of the sentiment which prevails in their own states; that come here as bold and independent Republicans, and who are as good Republicans at home as here, should be voted out. They are representatives of the party so far as the party in these states extends, and we wish to

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build up the party in those states. I hope that this Convention never will adopt the principle to exclude these gentlemen who come here from the Southern States, because we may yet take a candidate from one of those Southern States. I know not what may be the result.

Mr. Armour, of Maryland, Mr. Chairman, I stand before this Convention and this assembled host of freemen, a representative from the State of Maryland. [Applause and three cheers for Maryland.] I claim to be as true a Republican as the distinguished member of the People's party from Pennsylvania. [Laughter and much applause.] I have dared more than he has ever dared. [Applause.] I have periled more than he has ever periled. He lives in a free state; he breathes the pure air of the grand old Keystone state, and yet they have not arrived at a condition in which they are willing to avow themselves Republicans. [Great applause.] I faced the mob in Baltimore; I faced the mob urged on by the aristocracy of the custom house, menial hirelings of this corrupt Administration. I went to my home and found that I had been burned in effigy and suspended by the neck, because I dared avow myself the friend of freedom. We met in Baltimore, in obedience to the call of the National Committee. We have a party in Maryland, and we can poll from three to four thousand votes, [a voice, "good for you," and applause,] and if ever we expect Republican principles to prevail all over this land, we must organize, and you who live in the Northern states must fraternize with us, and not despise the day of our small things. [Applause.] There is the coat of arms of my grand little commonwealth, "*Crescite et Multiplicamini.*" And that shall be the motto of the Republicans of Maryland. We will grow and we will increase, until Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and all the states of the Northwest, will welcome our grand little commonwealth to the band of states which have ever been unshrinking in their devotion and their loyalty to the cause of human freedom. I scorn the idea. I am proud to despise the sentiment which says that Northern influence has been brought to bear upon us. We are unpurchased, and unpurchaseable. [Loud applause.] And we tell Pennsylvania to put that in her pipe and smoke it. [Laughter and applause.] Exclude us from the convention if you will—turn us out of these doors; [cries of "No," and "We won't,] we will go home, notwithstanding, and nominate an electoral ticket, and under the blessing of heaven we will do all that we can to advance the cause of humanity. I beg not for Northern votes to sustain us here. I am sure there will be a spontaneous outburst for freedom, of the true sympathy of the people here. And if this Convention attempts to exclude us, that large assemblage of people will frown it down. [Applause.] I have vindicated myself. I have vindicated my co-delegates. I have vindicated my state. Your applause assures me of that fact, and I will give way. [Three cheers for Maryland.]

Mr. James Wyse, of District of Columbia, Mr. President: I come from the capital of this great and mighty Republic, and like my friend, I am descended from old Maryland. [Applause.] I stand in this mighty Convention congregated in the Queen City of the Great West, a representative from the District of Columbia of the great Republican party. [Loud cheers.] I stand here the representative of the persecuted and down-trodden, and disfranchised

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people, that have no vote for President; no voice in Congress, and no voice anywhere to legislate for us, and yet our territory contains a hundred thousand freemen. I came to this city as a representative of the Republican party for no sinister purpose, but for the people of that disfranchised district. We claim from the people of this country the right of franchise, we claim the right of citizenship, we claim to be heard in this discussion, and not to be silent longer in this Republic. We have no legislature. We ask of Congress a legislature, and we intend that they shall give us a territorial legislature and a representation in Congress—that we shall have our own laws, and that Congress will confirm them—that we will be a people and have a word in this great Republic. I come here to tell this people that they have trodden down the Republican party with the iron heel of despotism, worse and more tyrannical than that of Russia or the Austrian empire. What has not Buchanan Administration done? Why, sir, they have gone into the workshops of the government to seek out a Republican and then turn him out to grass, taking the bread from his family, if he did not bow down to the slave power. But thanks be to God, we come here like the gentleman from Maryland, daring to be Republicans; and we will baptize that District of Columbia over again; and, by the help of God, we will exclude slavery from it in less than two years. [Applause.]

Mr. Blakey, of Kentucky, having just arrived from a meeting of the Committee on Platform, I understand that a proposition has been made that this Convention shall exclude the delegates from the state which in part I represent. I should not have been more surprised had I been told that a proposition had been gravely made that the ashes of Washington should have been placed without the pale of this continent. [Cheers.] I should not have been more surprised had I been told that a proposition had been gravely made that the remains, the precious remains, now silently resting under the shade of Ashland, should be removed from the precious soil of Kentucky; nor should I have been more surprised had I been informed that it has been gravely proposed that Cassius M. Clay [applause] should be buried. Who dare propose, I say, to institute a proposition here that the free born sons of Kentucky and of Virginia, and of Maryland, and of the District of Columbia, or even of Georgia, or any southern state, have not just as good a right to be Republicans and breathe free air, and be free men upon American soil as the old Keystone State. [Applause.] Gentlemen, I have but one word more to say, and I want it to be heard, and I wish it could be heard from one end of the continent to the other. I had the honor of a situation, a prominent position, it was a position of which my children and grand-children will be proud, in the Republican Convention of 1856. [Applause.] When the vote of Kentucky was called for candidate for the Vice-Presidency, I had the honor then and there to announce that Kentucky had been experimenting; that we had held up the Declaration of Independence before the mirror, and so reflected the platform of the 17th of June, 1856; that we had held up the precious Ordinance of 1787, and so reflected the Wilmot Proviso [applause]; that our votes were cast for David Wilmot. [Laughter and applause.] Thus stood Kentucky in 1856! Can I be forgiven for that sin? [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. Phillips, of Kansas, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Republican Convention: I stand here with my fellow colleagues to represent the people of Kansas. The Republicans of Kansas,

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whom we have the honor to represent upon this floor, sent us here, expecting that we would have several grave issues to meet, but they did not expect that the representatives of Kansas would have to appear upon this floor with proof that Kansas is an integral part of the Republican party. Kansas and the Republican party were born together. [Hearty applause.] Its first impulses were stirred by the wrongs of her people; the party was baptized in her blood. [Rapturous applause.]

The people of Kansas in 1856 appeared in the National Republican Convention, and threw a vote for the then Republican nominee. The people of Kansas throughout the whole of their struggle have vindicated in Kansas the Republican party, their cause and their principles. It may be said to-day that Kansas is not a State—Kansas is scarcely a Territory; but the cause of liberty is identified with her history. She has a history and a glorious one. This administration, whose duty it was to foster this infant State, has dealt with Kansas with a harsh rule. The hand of the administration, that she has felt so often, has been a hard stern hand; and all has been done to keep her back, and prevent her from rising and bearing aloft the banner of Republican liberty. She has been not only persecuted, but tempted. If Kansas had accepted the Lecompton bribe, she would have been a State to-day. If Kansas had not been one of the strongest and best united organizations in the Republican party, she would have been received into the Union years ago, by the Democrats at Washington. [Applause.] But Kansas scorned the Lecompton bribe, and stands there to-day, and will stand forever, a Republican State. [Great cheers.]

Mr. Chairman—Kansas does not expect to come into this Convention and be alienated from the Republican party. She stands now a Territory, because she would not share, or accept, the spoils of the Democratic party. She has alienated herself, from everything, to identify her people and destiny with the cause of the National Republican party; and now I don't think the time has come when the Republicans can alienate Kansas from the National Republican party. [Loud cheers.] I do not wish to consume the time of this Convention by urging this point. I do not think the gentlemen of this Convention will demand that Kansas shall be excluded. She has come here to say if she have preferences, she will exercise those preferences, or leave this hall. Kansas believes in the right, which has carried her through many a dark hour; and she believes that it is principle alone which will carry the Republican cause through in triumph.

Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania—I regret exceedingly that I was misunderstood by the gentlemen who have responded to me in behalf of the States of Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky. I made no proposition to exclude those gentlemen from a fair representation upon this floor—[applause]—none at all. I proposed that certain States be referred back to the Committee for the purpose of an investigation, to see what vote they are entitled to upon this floor.

Mr. Blakey—I was not present when the proposition was made.

Mr. Wilmot—In the course of my argument I presented certain considerations that seemed to me to be entitled to weight, to wit: that gentlemen who come up here representing no party—having no constituencies—were not entitled to vote for their

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States upon this floor. That was the simple proposition that I made. Now, I desire that the facts be inquired into. Will it be pretended that thirty gentlemen, meeting at the city of Baltimore, not delegates from the Counties of ths State, but gentlemen assembling together—have a right to represent and select twenty delegates?

Mr. Armour—Will you allow me to correct you?

Mr. Wilmot—Certainly.

Mr. Armour—There has existed in Baltimore City, for a number of years, a Republican Association. That Association, in obedience to the call of the National Executive Committee, issued calls for the Republicans of Maryland to meet in Baltimore at such a time specified in the call, for the purpose of nominating an electoral ticket and sending delegates to this Convention. When that Convention met, every Congressional district in the State of Maryland was represented. [Applause.] There were gentlemen from the Eastern Shore and the Western Shore—from the extreme East to the extreme West. There were perhaps only thirty-five or forty delegates; but there were at least 150 or 200 Republicans in the Convention. Baltimore City sent only eleven delegates, and therefore she was entitled to only eleven votes, yet the hall was full of Republicans. My town is full of Republicans; and I wish to say, in reply to the remark of the Judge that we have no party in Maryland, I have the assurance of a gentleman, and know it to be true, that in my town—which polls only about 900 votes—we can poll 400 votes at the next election, nearly half the votes of the town—not of the district. This is all I have to say.

Mr. Wilmot—The explanation that the gentleman has made, if it does anything, would enforce the propriety of my motion. What I have desired is, that the committee should investigate this subject, and should report the facts in respect to these States. That is what I have desired. If Maryland be properly represented here; if there be a party in Maryland, whether great, large or small, that stands as an organized party in the field, that is the point; not that there may be Republicans scattered over the State. There may be a majority in the town in which the gentleman lives. There may be individual Republicans scattered over that State in every county, but have they combined together in a political organization, and do they come here representing an organized party? That is the question I desire this committee to enquire into, and that is the very object of the motion. The committee might report that Maryland was entitled to her senatorial votes on this floor, and that she was entitled to a vote from such and such a district. If they so reported upon the facts before them I shall be willing to accept that report. So too as to Virginia, if the committee reported that certain districts in Virginia took regular action as an organzied party and elected their delegates, and were entitled to so many votes, I should be willing to accept that report, and in addition, I should stand ready to give them the two electoral votes of their state. So in respect to Texas. But what are the facts about her, gentlemen. I speak of it upon nothing but rumor and as a rumor—I don't assert the fact, for I know nothing about it—but I am told that the gentlemen who are here from Texas, or a majority of them, are not residents of the state at all, and that they have no Republican organization in that state. It may be asked of me why I do not

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speak of Oregon. But we know that Oregon has a formidable party; we know that they held a regular State Convention and that they elected their delegates directly, and that these gentlemen are entitled to their seats. So if Texas has held a regular convention and elected her delegates and they find it inconvenient to attend as delegates, then gentlemen they are entitled to seats on this floor. But if there has been no convention—no movement in Texas, if nothing having the semblance of a party has taken action in the State of Texas, and certain gentlemen are here for the purpose of controlling this result, then I say it is mischievous, it is demoralizing; it will break up any party under God's heaven. Will the distinguished gentlemen from New York, a candidate before this Convention, or rather his friends, consent that they shall be overslaughed or defeated by the votes of gentlemen representing no party, by gentlemen having no constituents? Will the friends of the candidate which Pennsylvania will present submit to such a procedure? If they do, it would be extremely hard—it would be difficult to enforce submission. This was the object of my proposition. I wish gentlemen, instead of indulging in declamation and rhetorical flourishes, in appeals to the ashes of Washington, had consented to leave the question fairly to argument. I raised no question with the "gude man" from Maryland as to who has dared more or suffered more in this cause. I concede to him and his associates the palm of victory in that. But if every Republican who has suffered in the cause of freedom is to come in to settle this question, then the little territory of Kansas can control this Convention—under that rule she has the right to control it. She has poured out her blood freely in this cause. The graves of our murdered sons are scattered all over her territory. If the question is as to those who have suffered in the cause of Republicanism, who have been mobbed, and those are to come here and control this Convention, then let us adjourn and invite Kansas to come here in a body, man, woman and child, and let them say whom the Republican party shall nominate as candidate for President. The simple question is, are all the "gude men" here from Virginia, Maryland, Texas and certain other districts as representatives, or all being here as individual Republicans? I don't question their Republicanism. I have no doubt upon that point. I cast no imputations upon their integrity; but this I do assert, that if this precedent be adopted, that at the next Convention the sympathies or the anxiety of friends to secure their candidate may impel them to secure delegates here from every state of the Union, not because there is a party there to represent, but because the anxiety of the friends of candidates will bring men here. Would it be difficult to find twelve men in the State of Tennessee who are Republicans? I doubt not if inducements were held out to them they could come here from Georgia, Alabama, Mississipppi, and all the Southern states. Then what would be the result? Instead of requiring 304 votes, you would have to require that there should be 500 votes. Why require 400, or why require 304, except that you have already virtually demoralized the Convention? If you have men here who do not represent an organized party at home, they should not cast votes for their states for a Republican President. It was for the purpose of inquiry, not to proscribe or disfranchise anybody, that my motion was made.

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Mr. Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, will you permit a delegate from Maryland to say one word. I wish merely to say to the Convention—[voices—"Louder!"]—I can only make myself heard over a small space. But I must say one word, and that is, so far as my feelings are concerned, and of a large majority of those with whom I am associated on this floor, the sentiments uttered by the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania meet our entire accord. [Applause.] We wish no larger voice in this deliberation than the gentlemen of the Convention with whom we are associated shall deem our members and those whom we represent entitled to have on this floor. [Cheers.] We do not come here (and I speak for myself and, I believe, a large portion of those representing the slave states on this floor), we do not wish to stand here as dictating to those who have to elect the candidates. We are willing; we ask only to be heard, and if permitted we will give our votes in the direction which we think ought to be taken by the Convention; but we do not wish, and we will endeavor so to act—and I am sure I represent the sentiments of those who are associated with me—upon this point as not to give any controlling voice in the Convention. [Applause.] That is all I have to say upon the subject. I would be glad to have some action, if the Convention deem it necessary, taken upon the point which the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania has, I think, timely made before this body, and I therefore second his motion. [Applause.]

Mr. Cleveland, of Connecticut, I respect exceedingly the remarks of the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Montgomery Blair; I can see imminent danger in this movement now made, and I look upon it as unfortunate. We are here to-day with high hopes of victory—with almost the assurances of victory. We should remember that in consequence of the action of one solitary man as a representative in Congress, for the State of Maryland—to Henry W. Davis—we have a speaker by whom we have been able to expose the corrupt frauds of the Administration and give us the assurance of victory inevitable. [Loud cheers.] And yet we are not willing to give her a full vote! In the name of God and humanity what are we doing? I heard a Maryland delegate say he was willing to take a half loaf of bread. I want to give her all; she has given us all. [Cheers.] This is all on that point. We have been charged for years with being a sectional party. The lie does not stick in their throats, but we can make it stick in ours and theirs by our folly; we are not a sectional party! [Cheers.] We want the slave states to come here and be represented. I say in this very connection, that knowingly or not the understanding of the slave states is that the power is to be changed from the hands of the slave oligarchy and placed in the hands of the friends of freedom, in the free states as well as the slave states, and hence they deserve to share in this great and glorious work. If we succeed next fall, as I believe we shall, with men competent to take charge of the government, and put secession and disunion where it belongs (and God grant we may all live to see it), we will probably have the entire slave states represented in our next National Convention. [Loud cheers.] I believe it. Why should we not? The disunionists are in a small minority in the slave states, and they keep down the majority by just such unwise operations as was attempted here this morning. If we treat them kindly and hold our hand out to them, as men competent to fill

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the high offices of the United States, we shall have the majority out from under the heel of the slave oligarchy. We shall unite the voice of the American people in favor of the Republican organization. I say, sir, and I wish it to be understood everywhere, I am not here for the purpose of making war on the slave states, nor do I believe that there is a man in this house who is. We have been charged with that. It is false and they know it. We are here for the purpose of satisfying the American people that we are willing to give the slave states their entire rights. We say to those gentlemen, with that you will be content—beyond that you shall not go. A large majority of the voters South, if they dare express it, in the South, would be with us. Their hearts are with us now. For God's sake, and humanity's sake, let us not establish the fact, by our folly, that we are a sectional party, and hate the slave states. [Cheers.]

Mr. Oyler, of Indiana, I merely desire, gentlemen, to call the attention of this Convention to the call inviting delegates to this Convention. Read and reflect for one minute what that call contains and it settles this question. What is it:

"The Republican electors of the several states, the members of the People's party of Pennsylvania, and of the opposition party of New Jersey, and all others who are willing to co-operate with them in support of the candidates which shall there be nominated, and who are opposed to the policy of the present administration, to federal corruption and ursurpation, to the extension of slavery into the territories, to the new and dangerous political doctrine that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into all the territories of the United States, to the opening of the African slave trade, to any inequality of rights among citizens; and who are in favor of the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union, under the Constitution recently adopted by its people, of restoring the federal administration to a system of rigid economy and to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, of maintaining inviolate the rights of the states and defending the soil of every state and territory from lawless invasion, and of preserving the integrity of this Union and the supremacy of the Constitution and laws passed in pursuance thereof against the conspiracy of the leaders of a sectional party to resist the majority principle as established in this government even at the expense of its existence—are invited to send from each state two delegates from each congressional district, and four delegates at large to the Convention."

Why, when we have issued a call to those men, called them from the sunny shores of the South to the bleak regions of the North, to meet us, why should be mooted the right of these gentlemen to vote to select a candidate and with us go home to help us elect the man that we may nominate, and carry forward the principles that we proclaim here. [Cheers.] I say, gentlemen, you can't discuss this question. The question is settled by the call. If we are honest, if we are not the veriest hypocrites in the world, we have no right to question the right of the slave states to be represented here upon this floor. [Applause.]

I have a word to say about the territories. I don't think that they stand upon the same ground. The call is not to them. They have no vote for our candidates after we have nomiaated them, and I am in favor of following out the rule of the federation—I am

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in favor of the delegates from the territories holding seats upon this floor, being heard, and attentively heard, on our part; I am in favor of their counselling with us, but when it comes to the vote, as they have no vote for the ticket, they ought not to vote formally. The District of Columbia is in the same fix.

Gov. Reeder, of Pennsylvania (in his seat), Mr. Chairman, [cries of "Take the stand."] I can be heard here if I can get started. I have not much to say, but what I have to say, I shall endeavor to say to the point. It seems to me that a great deal has been said altogether outside of this question now before the Convention. The proposition before us, if I understand it, is to refer this report back to the committee for the purpose of ascertaining whether these gentlemen now here upon the floor of the Convention from the states designated, represent the entire, or less than the entire state.

Now, sir, all the eloquence, and all the fire of many of the gentlemen upon the other side, is lost, when we make the avowal that we have not the most remote idea of disfranchising the delegates who come here from the Southern states. [Loud applause.] Sir, we humbly ask from our Southern brethren upon this floor, the poor privilege of being put upon an equality with them. [Renewed applause.] When Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana and Iowa come here, sir, with a delegation from one, two, or three congressional districts, do you allow them to vote for the entire state? No, sir; they would not ask it. They could not get it if they did ask. If there is a delegation here from the State of Maryland from one, two, or three congressional districts, we want them to vote for one, two, or three congressional districts. [Applause.] But, when they vote the entire vote of the State of Maryland, and the vote of the electors at large, they have a great advantage over us. What I wish to avoid, sir, is that, in any state, whether north or south, east or west, a few men should come from a single county, or a single congressional district, representing only that county, or that congressional district, and then come upon the floor of this Convention and ask to cast the entire vote of the state.

Now, sir, I ask these gentlemen who have declaimed so loudly and so eloquently in favor of our brethren of the South to listen to us; and no man on this floor or away from this floor can go farther than I in my admiration for those gentlemen who stand up in the face of the despotism exercised by the oligarchy that surrounds them, and contend for the right of free speech, free labor and free men. [Applause.] Sir, I know what the despotism of that oligarchy is. [Great applause.] I know, sir, that it hunts men like hounds who have the spirit of freemen. [Renewed applause.] I respect and I admire every man to whom God has given the nerve and the back-bone to stand up and face that despotism. [Continued applause.] I am ready to extend the right hand of fellowship to all the gentlemen who have come "tried out of the fire" to meet us in this National conclave. What I ask of them is the poor privilege of being on an equal footing with them in this Convention. I am sure they ought not and would not ask any more; but if gentlemen are here representing a single district from the State of Texas, or a single district from the State of Maryland, or from the State of Kentucky, will they, sir, be unjust and unfair enough to stand up here, being the representatives of a single district, and ask to cast the vote of the

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entire state? Assuredly not, sir; and assuredly those gentlemen, when they come to reflect upon this subject, will see the propriety of ascertaining how much of their state is represented, and having found that, to apportion their vote accordingly to what they really represent, giving to them such a vote as they represent; and I would be willing to have them then throw the true vote to which they are entitled. [Prolonged applause, and cries of "Question, question."]

Mr. Buckland, of Michigan, I cannot discover what object is to be gained by referring back that report to the committee, but that the gentleman may have the benefit of his motion. I wish to make an amendment. I propose to include, also, Oregon.

THE CHAIR—I will put the question first, on the original recommitment.

Mr. Buckland, I propose to make an amendment, and I believe the vote should first be taken upon my motion to amend.

Mr. McCrillis, of Maine, I have a single word to say in reply to the gentleman from Indiana. I agree with the gentleman in the doctrines he announces, as to the territories; all of them, sir, except Kansas. Why, I say Kansas is in the Union now. It is a rule of equity that when a thing ought to be done, it is to be considered as done. [Applause and laughter.] I say, sir, that Kansas, if she is out of the Union, is out of it on account of the corrupt and despotic Senate of the United States; and in this Convention she should be treated as a sovereign state. While I am up, I will make a remark in reply to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Wilmot, who told the Convention that the time would come, although he qualified it some, when South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and all the Southern states would be represented in this Convention. On behalf of the most far off New England State in the Union, I say that we from that wild region will welcome them—aye, thrice welcome them. [Applause.]

Mr. Hackleman, of Indiana, I have no doubt about the propriety of admitting Kansas to a vote in this Convention, but I have great doubts in regard to the propriety of admitting the State of Texas. So far as Virginia, so far as Maryland, or Missouri, or Kentucky are concerned, it is a matter of public notoriety that they have held Republican conventions to appoint delegates to this Convention; but where is the notoriety of the convention of the State of Texas? I want to hear from the delegates from the State of Texas, to know who appointed them to come here. All the others I shall welcome with open hands. We are no sectional party. [Applause.] We are the party to control this government, and we want all these states here. But let us know in regard to Texas. I understand that was the original proposition; the other was added by way of amendment. I do want an investigation, so far as Texas is concerned.

Mr. M. S. C. Crawford, of Texas, gentlemen of the Convention, I cannot believe that you are prepared to stifle the voice of Texas, because there the Republican party is in its infancy; for though it is in its infancy, it is nevertheless a hopeful child. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, the foreign population—the Germans—are with us. [Loud cheers.] And there will be an electoral ticket in the field there. We come here with no axes to griend. We have our preferences to be sure, and when the time comes,

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if we are permitted, we shall express that preference. I am sorry that this motion should come from the gentleman from Pennsylvania, where there is not sufficient pluck, where there is not the moral courage to come out and take a manly stand in favor of the right as a Republican party. [Applause, cheers and a few hisses.] Organize yourselves and train under the Republican banner before you accuse us in Texas of not having a Republican organization. It is unbecoming, it is unmanly, it is anti-Republican. [Cheers.] I hail from Galveston. There is free soil—there is anti-slavery sentiment there, and it will be expressed next fall at the polls, depend upon it. [Loud applause and cheers.] We ask a hearing on the floor of this Convention, and we believe you will grant it to us. [Cheers.]

Mr. Eggleston, of Ohio, I understand now that we are about to go into the business for which we were convened, and that no part of that business is the making of sympathy speeches as to the right to admit this territory, or that section of country, as delegates into this Convention. Now, sir, the gentleman from Indiana has well said that this investigation only had to be made so far as relates to Texas. If the committee, which has reported, or attempted to report on credentials, has not the nerve to go out, and come in and say to this Convention what they believe right, and who should vote, let them go out again, and let them come in with a definite report and we will say whether we will support them or no. For gentlemen to come here and make speeches about Kansas is entirely out of order. I have spent my money, and I have worked for Kansas, but I am not here now to talk about it. I am here now to nominate the men who shall be President and Vice-President of the United States.

Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, I simply desire to say that I am in favor of less talk and more work. ["Good, good," "no more speeches now."] I am not going to make a speech. I hope the discussion on this question, for the present, will here terminate, and that the question will now be put. [Cries of "Question, question."]

Mr. Cartter, I would like to have the District of Columbia, Kansas and Nebraska included.

The question being on the adoption of the amendment of Mr. Buckland, of Michigan, recommitting so much of the report as relates to the State of Oregon, the vote was taken and the amendment was voted down.

The question then being on the adoption of the amendment of Mr. Wilmot, recommitting such portions as referred to Kentucky, Virginia and Maryland, the vote was taken, and this amendment was also voted down.

The question then recurring on the motion of Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts, to recommit such portion as referred to Texas, the vote was taken and the motion lost. [Applause.]

Mr. Lowry, of Pennsylvania, I now move that the whole report be recommitted to the committee, and that we take the vote by states.

Mr. Eggleston, of Ohio, and I second that motion.

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Mr. Lowry, that committee has not given us anything to act upon. It has given us nothing. I am not going to inflict a speech upon this Convention, but I ask that the committee have it back, that they may give us something.

Mr. Benton, of New Hampshire, I desire to state that the committee appointed a sub-committee, who considered the case of Maryland particularly, and they were unanimously of the opinion that the delegates reported from that State were entitled to represent the State in this Convention. They had not the time to make the investigation in regard to Texas that was desirable, but it was understood that the Convention was in session, waiting to receive the report of the committee; therefore it was thought desirable, it being the opinion of a majority of that committee that they were entitled to their seats, so to report. I think the committee was entirely satisfied with the evidence furnished them as to all the delegates who have been reported here as being entitled to represent the several states from which they come. I state this at the request of the members of that committee.

Mr. Lowry, I call for a vote by states.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair will inform the gentleman that there is no rule by which that can be arrived at.

Motion to recommit lost on a viva voce vote.

A division being loudly called for.

The PRESIDENT—A division is called for. With the consent of the Convention the roll of the states will be called, and the delegations will then announce their votes.

Mr. Benton, (of New Hampshire, and Chairman of the Committee on Credentials,) I will say here that the Committee are not satisfied that the delegates claiming seats from Texas were entitled to them as a whole. The Chairman of the Committee thought it ought to have investigation.

The roll of the states was then called on the motion of Mr. Lowry, of Pennsylvania, to recommit the report to the Committee on Credentials.

States.	Yes.	No.	States.	Yes.	No.
Maine	3	13	Kentucky	24	..
New Hampshire	9	1	Ohio	46	..
Vermont	9	1	Indiana	26	..
Massachusetts	13	9	Missouri	4	14
Rhode Island	8	..	Michigan	..	12
Connecticut	10	2	Illinois	22	..
New York	1	69	Wisconsin	..	10
New Jersey	..	14	Iowa	8	..
Pennsylvania	53½	½	California	4	2
Maryland	4	6	Minnesota	..	8
Delaware	1	5	Oregon	..	5
Virginia	30	..			
Total	..	..		275½	172½

Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota. I would add instructions to accompany this amendment. (Many voices "no.")

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Mr. Burgess, of Ohio. I move, sir, that we now adjourn until three o'clock.

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio. I now move that this Convention adjourn to meet again at three o'clock.

The Convention adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention reassembled at 3:15 p. m., and was called to order by the President.

The CHAIR—The Chair begs leave to suggest that there are outside of this building, vast as it is, twice as many honest hearts and wise heads as there are here. They have requested me to suggest that Gov. Randall will go out and favor them with his views. (Applause, and cries of "Corwin, Corwin.")

Mr. Tracy, of California, I think Mr. Corwin had better go out with Gov. Randall. (Laughter.)

The Chair announced the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. Benton, of New Hampshire, Chairman of the Committee—Mr. President: the Committee on Credentials have instructed me to report that, having examined the credentials,&c.,of the several gentlemen claiming seats in this Convetion, they find gentlemen entitled to seats in the following states, and each state to the following number of delegates:

States.	No. of Delegates.	No. of El't'l votes.	States.	No. of Delegates.	No. of El't'l votes.
Maine	16	8	Indiana	26	13
New Hampshire	10	5	Missouri	18	9
Vermont	10	5	Michigan	12	6
Massachusetts	26	13	Illinois	22	11
Rhode Island	8	4	Wisconsin	10	5
Connecticut	12	6	Iowa	8	4
New York	70	35	California	8	4
New Jersey	14	7	Minnesota	8	4
Pennsylvania	54	27	Oregon	5	3
Maryland	11	8			
Delaware	6	3	Territories.		
Virginia	23	15	Kansas	6	
Kentucky	23	12	Nebraska	6	
Ohio	46	23	District of Columbia	2	

[Cries of "Texas," "Texas."] The committee have considered the question in regard to the representation from the State of Texas; they have given to the examination all that care which they were able to, and which the time from the adjournment of the Convention this forenoon would allow, and they have instructed me almost unanimously, with a solitary vote as an exception, to report that Texas be allowed six votes in this Convention. [Tremendous applause and cries of "good."] It was proved before the committee that the Convention which elected the delegates from Texas—resident delegates who are here in attendance, was a mass Convention; that it was called upon a petition signed by some three hundred of the legal voters of

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Texas. [Applause.] That that call was published in some two of the German papers published in the State; that written notices and advertisements were posted up in various parts of Texas, where there is any number of people in favor of the principles of the Republican party, and the committee were almost unanimously of the opinion that these delegates, elected under these circumstances, were fairly entitled to act as the representatives of the Republican party of the State of Texas. [Prolonged applause.]

The question being on the adoption of the report; it was adopted unanimously amid great cheering.

Mr. Corwin (of Ohio, and Chairman of the Committee on Rules and the Order of Business) moved to take from the table the report of that committee.

The motion was carried.

Mr. Corwin proceeded to read the rules reported by the Committee, as follows:

1st. That upon all subjects before the Convention, the states and territories shall be called in the following order:

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, Illinois, Texas, Wisconsin, Iowa, California, Minnesota, Oregon.

Territories—Kansas, Nebraska, District of Columbia.

On motion the first rule was adopted.

2. Four votes shall be cast by the delegates at large of each State, and each Congressional District shall be entitled to two votes, and the vote of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, moved as an amendment, that no delegation should cast a greater number of votes than there were delegates in attendance.

Mr. Sargent, of California, it seems to me that the report of the Committee on Credentials just adopted, and which prescribes the basis of representation in this Convention, is in conflict with the rule now proposed to be adopted. This rule provides that two votes shall be cast from each Congressional district. Now, with reference to Texas and certain other states, the rule has been changed. We have adopted the report of the Committee on Credentials, which provides that Texas shall have less votes than are accorded to her by this rule.

Mr. Corwin, I think the gentleman is mistaken in regard to the character of the report of the Committee on Credentials. They simply report, I think, the number of representatives in attendance.

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Mr. Sargent, the report fixes the number of votes to be cast by each Congressional District in the Convention. I move, a further amendment by adding these words, "provided that this rule shall not conflict with any rule reported by the Committee on Credentials and adopted by the Convention."

Mr. Goodrich accepted the amendment of Mr. Sargent, and the amendment of Mr. Goodrich was adopted.

The rule as amended was then adopted.

3. The report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be acted upon before the Convention proceeds to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President.

On motion the rule was adopted.

4. Three hundred and four votes being a majority of the whole number of votes when all the States in the Union are represented in convention according to the rates of representation prescribed in Rule 2, shall be required to nominate the candidate of this convention for the offices of President and Vice-President.

Voices—No, no!

The President, the Secretary will now read the minority rule proposed as a substitute for that reported by the majority of the committee.

4. That the majority of the whole number of votes represented in this Convention, according to the ratio prescribed by the Indiana rule, shall be required to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

The President assigned the floor to Mr. Kelly,

Mr. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, [taking the stand.]

Mr. James, of New York—Am I not entitled to the floor, having offered the minority report?

The Chair, the Chair thinks the majority have a right to the floor first; but it is a question of courtesy.

Mr. Kelly, as I appear, Mr. Chairman, at the request of a majority of the committee, simply to state the views which governed that committse in arriving at the conclusion they present, I will cheerfully yield the floor to the gentleman, and will present those views after we shall have heard him. [Loud cries of "Go on," "go on."]

The Chair, it is entirely a question of courtesy.

Mr. Kelly, the subject which now engages the attention of the convention, was one of deep consideration to the committee It seemed to them to be the most important question that came within the range of their duties. It is an important question for this Convention to decide, what vote shall nominate the candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President. In the first place, Mr. Chairman, the committee asked what body had appointed them to report upon that question? and the answer was that the National Republican Convention had appointed them,

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and that the candidates were to be the candidates of the *National* Republican party [great cheers]; and, consequently, that the number of votes upon which a man should be nominated should be a majority of the electoral college—no more and no less [applause]; so that, if the charge were made against the party or its candidates that they were the candidates of a section, or a sectional party, they had been nominated by delegates representing a majority of the electoral college, by the same vote that, in a convention where the majority rule, and where the section sat in person through its representatives, would have nominated a candidate. It is simply a majority rule as applied to the electoral college.

We looked at the call of the Convention, and we found that it invited not only the people of the Northern States—not only the people of the border slave States—but the people of the United States; and if any State is not represented, whether it be by accident or design, we count her as here. We do not cast her vote, but we count her as present. She is here in spirit, she is here in contemplation of the call of the Convention; and we can say she had her rights here, if we can say that our candidates were nominated by a vote they would have had had she and her sisters been here looking to their duties. This was the first view that controlled a majority of the committee—that a precedent might be set here, and now, that to nominate a Republican candidate, should require a delegate for every elector that it would take to give him a bare majority in the electoral college.

Having passed that cardinal point, minor, but very weighty and important considerations added themselves to these. A question was raised before the committee, when we came to fix the order in which States should be called. When they had named the States, Kansas was not among them. A delegate from Nebraska was present, and a list of members handed us by the Secretary of the Convention contained not only the names of the States, but Kansas and Nebraska and the District of Columbia. So far as sending that list was concerned, this Convention had told us that the States were to be represented—that Kansas was to be represented—that Nebraska and the District of Columbia were to be represented—as they were constituted States, and had an electoral power behind them. We knew, Mr. Chairman, that there were a few gallant men—brave spirits—honored throughout our country—honored wherever courage commands honor—here from Maryland, from Virginia, and from Kentucky. We knew that these men were here to testify to their manhood, their appreciation of their rights under the Constitution, and to proclaim to the men of the North that they were Americans, who, under a despotism more dreadful, and grasping and audacious than that of Naples, Austria or Russia—Americans, who, under such a despotism—[A Voice—"Time!"]—would take their lives in their hands and would go forth to say "We are freemen, and will unite with the freemen of this country in restoring the Government to the line of the fathers." And we supposed that these men would all be admitted to this Convention as though they carried with them the full electoral vote of their States respectively at their back.

Now, Mr, Chairman, it occurred to your committee that it might so fall out, in view of the admission of Kansas here, and permit me to say that the humble individual who now addresses you as the organ of that committee, when it was proposed to exclude

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from our list that Territory and the District of Columbia, took the ground that Kansas was a State on the very ground taken by the eloquent gentleman from Maine, that equity holds that to have been which ought to have been. For three years she has been in power and in right a State, and if these delegates are not representing a State it is by no reason of theirs or their constituents, but by reason of the oppression and lawlessness of the United States Senate. Therefore we hold it right that she should be here. But there was not the same ground for Nebraska, [a voice, "How about Oregon?"] Now we saw that unless this rule was adopted it might so happen that our candidate would be nominated by less than a majority of this Convention. [Cries of "Question."] I am drawing to a close. Mr. Chairman, I am not here in defence of the rule proposed, personally. I am here at the request of the committee to present the rules they instructed me to present. When I have done that as briefly as I can, I will retire. [Voices—"All right, go on."] Perceiving that it was possible under the list of delegates to be admitted, that a candidate might be nominated who should not have a majority of the electors who represent the States and Congressional Districts, there seemed to be additional reason why the rule, in itself so equitable, that a majority of the whole electoral college should fix the number of votes required, and they determined to submit it to the Convention. [A Voice—"What about Oregon?"] Oregon is a constituted State and there was no question about Oregon. I am holding no dispute about her. The matter is now before the Convention with the reasons that governed the committee; and having done my duty I will give way, as I was ready to do before I began. [Applause.]

Mr. James of New York, as the Chairman of the minority of the committee which presented the minority report, I arise for the purpose of giving the reasons why we saw fit to present a minority report against that presented by the majority, and I don't propose to entertain you with any particular eloquence, but to state simply the reason. By the vote which has already passed this Convention, as to the number of delegates represented upon this floor, if I understand the committee aright there are 446 voting delegates upon the floor—

Secretary—The number is 466.

Mr. James, then there is a mistake. One of the Secretaries informs me that it is 466. I took the list from a reporter who took it from the calling off of the Chairman of the Convention, and we made it different. We will call it the largest number, then, 466. That was thought to be the number when this question arose in the committee, the report of which is now presented. There were but seventeen members of that committee present, ten being absent, and upon the sense of that body being called, they stood nine to eight—nine for the majority and eight against it. You will thus see the difference between the two reports. One is substantially the "two-thirds rule." If there are 466 votes, 311, I believe, is two-thirds of that vote, and this rule requires 304. Therefore it is only seven short of the two-thirds rule which has been adopted by the Democratic party in the management of their conventions. I am not aware that any such rule was ever adopted by any party in opposition to that party, and I was not aware that that party ever adopted that rule until 1836, and again in 1844, when it became necessary for the interest and purposes of slavery

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that the minority should rule the majority. For that reason I am opposed to that rule. [A voice—"That is right."] I have sufficient confidence in the integrity and judgment of this Convention to trust the nomination of its candidate to the majority of the delegates here. If the minority report is adopted, instead of a two-thirds rule, the result will be left to the wisdom and patriotism of a majority of the Convention.

Cries of "Question."

Mr. Mann, of Pennsylvania, Mr. President—

THE PRESIDENT—I will read.

Mr. Mann, I should like to understand if I am out of order in addressing the chair as other men do?

THE PRESIDENT—I was about to read the rule reported by the majority and then that reported by the minority, and straighten the Convention as to the question upon which a vote is to be had. But I will hear the gentleman before I do so if he insists upon it.

Mr. Mann, I desire to call the attention of this Convention to this new rule introduced here. I come here from a land where we acquiesce in the will of the majority [applause] on all questions whenever men are invited together to deliberate. I know nowhere in a Republican Convention where men are entitled to vote by proxy. I do conceive that to adopt any such rule here would be distinctive of its character; it would be considered as to be aimed at the aspirations of an individual, and if an individual cannot be struck down in this broad country without doing a wrong, I should be the last on God's earth to do it. These are my sentiments, and the sentiments of the true, loyal hearts around me in Pennsylvania, [applause,] and when I barely announce them I shall trouble this Convention no further.

The Chair (Cleveland) stated the motion. The roll was called, with the following result:

States	Yes.	No.	States.	Yes.	No.
Maine	16	..	Indiana	25	1
New Hampshire	10	..	Missouri	..	18
Vermont	10	..	Michigan	12	..
Massachusetts	22	3	Illinois	7	..
Rhode Island	4	4	Texas	6	..
Connecticut	8	4	Wisconsin	10	..
New York	70	..	Iowa	5	3
New Jersey	12	1	California	8	..
Pennsylvania	33½	20½	Minnesota	8	..
Maryland	5	6	Oregon	3	2
Deleware	6	..	Territories.		
Virginia	13	8	Kansas	6	..
Kentucky	10	9	Nebraska	6	..
Ohio	32	9	District of Columbia	2	..
Total				358½	94½

So the majority report was amended by the substitution of the minority report.

While the vote was taking, Pennsylvania having been called three times.

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Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, I move that the representatives of the People's party of Pennsylvania be excused from voting upon their own proposition. [Hisses and confusion.]

Mr. Reeder, is it in order for the State of Pennsylvania to vote?

THE PRESIDENT—If she has not voted, it is.

Mr. Reeder, Pennsylvania could not vote without retiring to another room to consult her large delegation. Did I understand a gentleman just now to intimate that Pennsylvania was not entitled to a vote upon this floor? If he did, I should be glad to know who he is, and where he comes from. [Immense applause and cries of "Goodrich."]

Mr. Goodrich, I rise, Mr. President—[cries of "Sit down," and hisses.] I will.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen do not forget yourselves. You must keep order.

Mr. Goodrich, Mr. President—[cries of "Sit down," and hisses.] I will not sit down. [Confusion.]

THE PRESIDENT—The gentleman upon my right is desirous of explaining to the gentleman from Pennsylvania so that there may be no ill blood in the Convention, even for a moment. Will you allow him to do it. Let us act, gentlemen, in a friendly spirit, and if men make remarks that are not exactly correct, let them be forgotten on the moment. I would say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that the expression was promply rebuked by the chair.

Mr. Goodrich, I wish to state to the gentleman who desired to know who it was that had suggested that Pennsylvania had not a right to vote here, I propose to respond to that interrogatory. I made no such remark. [Cheers, and cries of "order."] When the roll was called, Pennsylvania was called for a third time, when a gentleman answered, who I supposed was speaking authoratively for Pennsylvania, that she abandoned her proposition, the majority report, and then, as an act of humanity. I moved that she be excused from expressing her opinion. [Laughter and cries of "sit down."]

The report as amended was then adopted *nem. con.*

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

THE PRESIDENT—The chair is informed that the Committee on Resolutions and Platform is ready to report. [Immense applause.]

Mr. Jessup, of Pennsylvania, the Committee on Platform and Resolutions have directed me to say to the Convention that these resolutions have been adopted with great unanimity, there being upon one or two of these resolutions some dissenting voices in the committee. The greater portion of the resolutions were adopted with entire unanimity in the committee.

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THE PLATFORM AS AMENDED AND ADOPTED.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and to our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the Rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may. And we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of disunion so often made by Democratic members, without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal Courts of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power entrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public

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treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruption at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom: That as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of Non-Intervention and Popular Sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a state under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

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15. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

The reading of the sections was interrupted by tremendous bursts of applause—the most enthusiastic and long continued being given to the tariff and homestead clauses.

Mr. Cartter—Mr. Chairman: That report is so eminently unquestionable from beginning to end, and so eloquently carries through with it its own vindication, that I do not believe the Convention will desire discussion upon it, and I therefore call the previous question upon it. [Applause, and mingled cries of "good, good," and "no, no."]

Mr. Giddings, I arise, sir, solemnly to appeal to my friend—[great confusion; cries of "withdraw the previous question." A voice—"Nobody wants to speak, but we don't want to be choked off," &c.]

Mr. Cartter, I insist upon the previous question.

Mr. Giddings, I arise, and I believe I have the right, with the leave of my colleague, to offer a short amendment before the previous question is called.

Mr. Cartter, I did it to cut you off, and all other amendments and all discussion. [Great confusion, and cries of "Giddings" by the audience.]

A delegate at the south end of the platform, the resolutions have not been distributed among the members yet, and will the gentleman ask us to vote upon a party platform we have not seen?

Mr. Cartter, I insist upon the previous question. They can read it by copy. It's printed.

Mr. Giddings, would it be in order for me to say that I request my friend to withdraw the previous question, that I may offer an amendment?

A delegate from Maine, I rise to a point of order. Is the motion of the gentleman from Ohio seconded? ["Yes," "yes," "yes."]

Mr. Andrew of Massachusetts, I rise to a point of order. The motion of the gentleman from Ohio is not in order, for the reason that this Convention have already passed a rule that the com-

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mittee on platform and resolutions shall make their report in print, and that printed report has not been received by this Convention.

The PRESIDENT—We will have that resolution read.

Mr. Cartter, there is no such rule.

The President—Will gentlemen give their attention? The Chair will state the position of the question. The committee on Platform and Resolutions have presented a report which has been read by the Chairman. Upon the question of acceptance of that report, Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, demands the previous question. Pending that demand, Mr. Andrew, of Massachusetts, raises a question of order, that it is not in order to demand the previous question, because the Convention has adopted a standing rule that before acting upon that report, the report should be printed and presented to the Convention. Upon examining the record, the Chair rules that there is no such thing.—It was an independent resolution, made by Mr. Kauffmann, of Pennsylvania.

[Much confusion was here caused by the anxiety of delegates and the crowd in the wigwam to obtain copies of the platform, which by this time had been brought into the hall and was being distributed.]

The PRESIDENT—The question is on the demand of Mr. Cartter for the previous question.

Mr. Tracy of California, I hope, as a member of the committee on Resolutions and Platform, and as one of the sub-committee that drafted these resolutions, that the previous question will not be sustained.

The PRESIDENT—It is not a debatable question.

Mr. Tracy, I know it is not debatable. I only expressed a hope.

Mr. Giddings, I desire my colleague to withdraw the call for the previous question.

Mr. Cartter, It has got to be voted down or it has to be voted up.

The PRESIDENT—The question is, is there a second for the call of the previous question?

Voices—Yes.

Motion submitted and declared to be lost.

Mr. Cartter, I call for a division on that question and a vote by states.

The PRESIDENT—It was voted down three to one.

Mr. Cartter, I don't understand it so. I call for a division.

A delegate, I rise to a point of order. It is too late to call for a division after the question is decided.

Mr. Cartter, it is not. You can't call for it before.

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The PRESIDENT then submitted the question. The roll of states was called with the following result:

States.	Yes.	No.	States.	Yes.	No.
Maine	1	14	Indiana	20	6
New Hampshire	..	10	Missouri	..	18
Vermont	..	10	Michigan	8	4
Massachusetts	4	21	Illinois	14	8
Rhode Island	..	8	Texas	..	6
Connecticut	1	11	Wisconsin	8	2
New York	25	45	Iowa	2	6
New Jersey	12½	1½	California	..	8
Pennsylvania	½	53½	Minnesota	..	8
Maryland	..	11	Oregon	2	2
Delaware	4	2	Territories.		
Virginia	17	6	Kansas	..	6
Kentucky	10	10	Nebraska	2	4
Ohio	28	18	District of Columbia	..	2
Total				155	301

California being called—

Mr. Tracy, California believes in free speech and free men, and votes eight against the previous question.

Ohio being called—

Mr. Cartter, coming from Ohio, a state where free speech is not allowed, she votes 28 ayes and 18 nays.

The PRESIDENT annunced the previous question not sustained. [Great applause.]

AMENDMENTS PROPOSED.

Mr. Giddings of Ohio took the floor.

Mr. Reeder, I ask the gentleman if he will give way while we take up these resolutions singly?

Voices, no, no.

Mr. Giddings, Mr. President, I propose to offer, after the first resolution as it stands here, as a declaration of principles, the following:

"That we solemnly reassert the self-evident truths that all men are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are those of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness [cheers]; that government are instituted among men to secure the enjoyment of these rights."

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, interrupting, Mr. President, I—

Mr. Giddings, my colleague will ask no favors of me, I take it. [Applause.] I will detain the Convention but a moment. Two hundred years ago the philosophers of Europe declared to the world that human governments were based upon human rights, and all Christian writers have sustained that doctrine until the members of this Convention. Our fathers, impressed with this all permeating truth,—the right of every human being to live and enjoy that liberty, which enables him to obtain knowledge and pursue happiness, and no man has the power to withhold it from him. [Prolonged cheers.] Our fathers embraced this solemn truth, laid it down as the chief corner stone, the basis upon which this Federal Government was founded. By consent of all parties the supreme court included, these were the primitive, life-giving vitalizing principles of the Constitution. It is because these

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principles have been overturned, uprooted and destroyed by our opponents, that we now exist as a party [cheers.] At Philadelphia, we prepared and propounded this issue to our opponents. We called on them to meet it. They have not met it. They put forward the supreme court to meet it. That court denied those principles, but the Democratic party to this day dare not deny them; and through the campaign, and for four years, no Democrat has stood before the world denying that truth, nor will they deny them. Now, I propose to maintain the doctrines of our fathers. I propose to maintain the fundamental and primal issues upon which the government was founded. I will detain this Convention no longer. I offer this because our party was formed upon it. It has existed upon it—and when you leave out this truth you leave out the party. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Cartter, I call for the reading of clause No. 2 in the report of the committee.

Mr. Lowry of Pennsylvania, I rise to a question of order. We have upon our journal a resolution that all questions that come up by resolution, should be referred to the committee appointed for that purpose, without debate. I therefore call upon the President of this Convention now to enforce the rule.

The PRESIDENT—The chair is of the opinion that this proposition does not come within the principle of the rule that the gentleman alludes to.

Mr. Lowry, then Mr. President—

Mr. Cartter, I wish simply to read in reply to this—

Mr. Lowry, well, Mr. President, I move that the report of the committee as prepared and presented be adopted.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman is out of order. He has not got the floor.

Mr. Cartter, the only reply I wish to make on this amendment and the gas expended upon it, is in clause two of the report, which reads as follows:—"that the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved."

Mr. Thayer, of Oregon, I agree with the venerable delegate from Ohio (Giddings) in all that he has affirmed to this Convention concerning the privileges of the Declaration of Independence. There are also many other truths than are enunciated in that Declaration of Independence—truths of science, truths of physical science, truths of government, and great religious truths; but it is not the business, I think, of this Convention, at least it is not the purpose of this party, to embrace in its platform all the truths that the world in all its past history has recognized. [Applause.] Mr. President, I believe in the ten commandments, but I do not want them in a political platform.

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Mr. Tracy, I move that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Resolutions and Platform.

THE PRESIDENT—The motion is out of order.

A Delegate from Connecticut—I move that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio be laid upon the table.

THE PRESIDENT—That is out of order. It will take the whole with it. The question must be on the adoption of the amendment.

Amendment submitted and lost.

ANOTHER AMENDMENT.

Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, I move that the resolutions be adopted separately. [Cries of "No," and "Take them in a lot," &c.] I have an amendment to offer which I believe will commend itself to the good sense of every gentleman here. The amendment is this: in the 14th resolution we say "that the Republican party is opposed to any change in our Naturalization Laws, *or any State legislation by* which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad." My amendment is to strike out the words "State legislation," because it conflicts directly with the doctrine in the 4th resolution, which reads thus:

"That the maintenance inviolate of the Rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

The resolution would then read, "That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired."

Judge Jessup, (of Pennsylvania, and Chairman of the Committee on Platform), the reason why these words were inserted in that resolution I will state. I desire briefly to state to the Convention that the naturalization laws are producing a sad state of feeling among a large number of the Republican party. A great many Republicans are of foreign birth, and they have felt that it was due to them that the Republicans should affirm first, that they do not desire to interfere with the present existing naturalization laws; secondly, that they as a party do not approve of the change of the naturalization laws by the several States, and that they do not approve of that legislation which went to impair the rights which the naturalization laws of the Union give to naturalized citizens. That, Mr. President, was what was intended by the words which are now proposed to be stricken out. I state, there-

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fore, that it is not proposed to interfere with State rights. It is not proposed, nor does it in the least conflict with any principle, if it be looked at properly, before established in these resolutions. It simply affirms that the Republican party is "opposed to any change in the naturalization laws, or any legislation—State legislation—by which the rights of citizens hitherto conferred upon emigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired." Now, I wish to know if my colleague from Pennsylvania affirms that he is ready to permit, with his consent, the State legislatures to impair the rights that are guaranteed, under our laws, to emigrants becoming citizens. I think it is a misapprehension on the part of my colleague, of the true intent and import of this resolution. I trust if he looks at it again, he will withdraw his amendment.

Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, I do not know but I misapprehend this clause. The declaration here reads thus:

"That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation, by which the rights of citizenship hitherto afforded to emigrants from foreign lands, shall be abridged or impaired."

Now my amendment was to strike out "or any State legislation." My idea was this (and you may judge whether I was correct or not), that it conflicted with the fourth resolution, which declares:

"That the maintaining inviolate of the rights of the States, especially of each State, to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively is essential to that balance of power," &c.

This is a broad declaration of State rights—a just declaration of State rights; and under that any State in this—every State in this Union has a perfect power to prescribe qualification of voters. Pennsylvania, Massachusetts or any other State may tomorrow, if it sees fit, by a change of her constitution, not only impair the right of foreign citizens, but may modify and impair the rights vested in native born citizens. She may change her Constitution and provide that a residence of two years shall be required to entitle a man to vote. That was the old Constitution of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania may go back; she may require that any person coming from a foreign land or from another State shall not vote until he has been a resident two years, and on the doctrine of State rights has she not a right to do it! and who has a right to complain? But as there seems to be a doubt or misunderstanding, and it has been explained to me here that they do not controvert the right of the State thus to modify the rights of foreign or native citizens, but merely wish to make the declaration that the Republican party, as a party, is opposed to it. If that be the object, I agree to it, and in that view I am willing to withdraw my amendment. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, as the amendment is withdrawn by the gentleman from Pennsylvania I find it hardly necessary to address the Convention upon this subject. I wish that this resolution might be passed without opposition. The German Republicans of the Northern States have given you 300,000 votes [applause], and I wish that they should find it consistent with their honor and their safety to give you 300,000 more. [Increased applause.] That paragraph, I think, could never have been asked for by the German representatives if one occurrence had not

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taken place. The year 1856 was the year of good feeling; we all joined together in a common cause, and we all fought the common enemy. We did so with honor to ourselves and with confidence in each other. There was no German Republican, I believe, who would have asked for anything more in the Philadelphia platform but the resolution which is there. But, since it has been found that that resolution is not sufficient to protect them from intrenchment upon their rights in the States, I will show you how they reason. They said our rights may be guaranteed to us in a national platform by a general sentence, and nevertheless the Legislatures of the different States may defeat the very purpose for which that national platform was enacted. Of what use, then, is a plank in a platform if its purpose thus can be frustrated by an act of a State Legislature? It has been very well said that it was not the purpose of this resolution to declare that no State has the right to regulate the suffrage of its citizens by legislative enactment, but it was the purpose to declare that the Republican party, in its national capacity, is opposed to any such thing in principle. [Renewed applause.] Gentlemen, the question is simply this, on one side there stands prejudice, on the other side there stands right. You please calculate, will prejudice give us more votes or will right give us more votes! [Applause continued.] Let me tell you one thing, that the votes you get by truckling to the prejudices of people will never be safe; while those votes you get by recognizing constitutional rights may every time be counted upon. [Immense applause.] Why gentlemen. the German Republicans of the Northern States have been not only among the most faithful, but we have been among the most unselfish members of the Republican party. We never come to you asking for any favor; we never come to you with any pretensions; the only thing we ask of you is this: that we shall be permitted to fight for our common cause; that we shall be permitted to fight in your ranks with confidence in your principles and with honor to ourselves. [Great cheering.]

Mr. Hassaureck, of Ohio, [Applause]—Gentlemen of the Convention: I am not going to detain you for any length of time in support of the motion now before the Convention, but I am in favor, gentlemen, of the adoption of this resolution, not because I am an adopted citizen, but because I claim to be a true American, [Cheers.] Gentlemen, I claim to be an American, although I happened to be born on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. [Renewed applause.] I breathed true Americanism before my foot had ever stepped on American soil. [Applause.] I loved this country before my eyes had ever beheld its hospitable soil. I had sworn allegiance to the spirit of its free institutions years before I made the formal declaration of loyalty. [Enthusiastic cheers.] Gentlemen, I felt the spirit of true Americanism thrill my heart when, as a boy in school, I first read of the heroic deeds of the immortal Washington. [Great and prolonged applause.] I hailed true Americanism when I first heard of the great Thomas Jefferson, who, upon the altar of God, had sworn eternal hostility to tyranny in every form. [Renewed applause.] Gentlemen, as one who has suffered the stings and oppressions of despotism, I claim to be doubly capable of appreciating the blessings of liberty. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, I have seen the nations of Europe smarting under the arbitrary rule of despots, and I know what an inestimable treasure, what an incalculable boon freedom

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is to man. It is, therefore, one of the proudest moments of my life, to avail myself of this opportunity as one of the liberty loving Germans of the free West, before this vast assembly of so many of the best and true men of the nation, loudly to proclaim my undying and unfaltering love and adherence to the principles of true Americanism. [Great applause.] Gentlemen, if it is Americanism to believe, religiously to believe in those eternal truths announced in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born equal and free, and endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, I am proud to be an American. [Applause.] If it is Americanism firmly to believe and warmly to cherish the memory of the fathers of the Republic, to maintain the faith and perpetuate the glorious inheritance which they have left to an admiring posterity, I shall ever be an American. [Loud cheers.] If it is Americanism, gentlemen, to believe that governments are instituted for the benefit of the governed, and not for the benefit of the privileged few—if it is Americanism to believe that this glorious Federation of sovereign States has a higher object and a nobler purpose than to be the mere means of fortifying, protecting and propagating the institution of human servitude—if it is Americanism to believe that these vast fertile Territories of the West are forever to remain sacred, to remain as free homes for free labor and free men, I shall live and die an American. [Tumultuous cheering.] Gentlemen, if it is Americanism to believe that the American Constitution as framed by the Fathers was designed as a bulwark of freedom, and intended to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, and that it does not of its own force carry slavery into the Territories of the United States, but, on the contrary, means freedom and justice wherever it goes, I shall ever claim to be an American. [Great applause.]

And, Mr. President, for this reason I am in favor of the adoption of the resolution—not because I claim to be an adopted citizen, but because I claim, and shall claim to the end, that I am an American—an American by choice; not an American by birth, it is true, but an American from sentiment and from principle. Gentlemen, I hope this resolution will pass without objection from any side. There are more than 20,000 Republican German votes in the State of Ohio alone; and they shall ever be cast in a solid phalanx for the candidate who is to be nominated by this Convention. [Renewed applause.]

Mr. Curtis, of New York, What is the question before the house?

THE CHAIR—It is upon the adoption of the report.

Mr. Curtis, I then offer as an amendment to the report, as presented by the committee, the following: That the second clause of the report shall read, "That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution"—and then, sir, I propose to amend by adding these words, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"—

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then proceed—" is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the Rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved." [Great applause, and many gentlemen struggling for the floor.]

Mr. Thayer, has not that amendment been once voted down?

Mr. Cartter, I rise to a question of order.

THE CHAIR—There is one question of order already. The gentleman from New York, Mr. Curtis, moved to amend the second resolution in the words which he has read. The gentleman from Oregon, Mr. Thayer, raises the question of order that this is substantially the same proposition already voted upon; and the Chair sustains the question of order, and the question recurs on the adoption of the report.

Mr. Blair, of Missouri, if it is necessary. I shall appeal from the decision of the Chair. The amendment which was first offered was to the first clause or section, and the amendment offered now by the gentleman from New York is to the second section, and it an entirely different question. I think, if it is necessary, I am ready to take an appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE CHAIR—I took it from the statement of the gentleman from New York, that he offered the same amendment offered before by Mr. Giddings, and voted on.

Mr. Blair, it is offered now as an amendment to the second; then it was to the first resolution.

THE CHAIR—Then the amendment is in order.

Mr. Curtis, have I the floor?

THE CAHIR—Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis (from his chair), Mr. President, I have a word to say on that amendment—[cries of "take the stand."] I can speak as well, gentlemen ,from this seat. I have to ask this Convention—the second National Convention the Republican party has ever held—I have to ask this Convention whether they are prepared to go upon the record and before the country as voting down the words of the Declaration of Independence? [Cries of "No, no," and applause.] I have, sir, in the amendment which I have introduced, quoted simply and only from the Declaration of Independence. Bear in mind that in Philadelphia in 1856, the Convention of this same great party were not afraid to announce those by which alone the Republican party lives, and upon which alone the future of this country in the hands of the Republican party is passing. [Tremendous cheering.]

Now, sir, I ask gentlemen gravely to consider that in the amendment which I have proposed, I have done nothing that the soundest and safest man in all the land might not do; and I rise simply—for I am now sitting down—I rise simply to ask gentlemen to think well before, upon the free prairies of the West, in the summer of 1860, they dare to wince and quail before the men who in Philadelphia in 1776—in Philadelphia, in the Arch-Keystone State, so amply, so nobly represented upon this platform to-day—before they dare to shrink from repeating the words that these great men enunciated. [Terrific applause.]

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Mr. Olyer, of Indiana, I presume that all the Republicans here are in favor of the Declaration of Independence. Does it necessarily follow that we must publish it in our platform? [The crowd—"Yes."] I want to talk to the delegates here. I ask the question, if it is necessary to put it in? They answer me it is. Well, then, it is there now. [Voices—"No."] Read for yourselves the second resolution. [A voice—"Put it in twice."] I will read it to you:

"That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our Repubican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the Rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved."

Does not that endorse it? We believe in the Bible; shall we put it in from the first chapter of Genesis to the last chapter of Revelations? We believe in the Constitution of the United States; shall we put it in from the first to last? I say no. I say it is enough for us to assert a belief in, and our confidence in, and firm reliance in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Mr. Nye, of New York, I want, sir, something done in this Convention. [Cries of "Vote!"] I am only anxious, sir, that something should be done in this Convention to mark with great distinctness and in unmistakable terms, that we endorse the language and that portion of the language of the Declaration of Independence that is moved as an amendment to the second resolution. [Cheers and voices, "You shall have it," "We will," "You shall have it if you say no more about it."] That, sir, is all I want. I am exceedingly glad that simply the fear of a speech from me should induce gentlemen to vote in that way. [Laughter and applause.[

The question being on the amendment offered by Mr. Curtis, of New York, the vote was taken and the amendment adopted.

The question now recurring on the adoption of the report of the committee, the Platform was adopted unanimously with a shout of applause.

Upon the adoption of the Platform, the delegates and the whole of the vast audience rose to their feet in a transport of enthusiasm, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs and the gentleman their hats, while for many minutes the tremendous cheers and shouts of applause continued, and again and again were renewed and repeated.

The Chair, as soon as order was partially restored, announced that several gentleman would speak in the Wigwam at night.

Mr. Goodrich, I move that we adjourn. [Cries of "No," "No," "Ballot," "Ballot."] I withdraw the motion, and move that we now proceed to ballot for a candidate for the Presidency. [Applause.]

Mr. Eggleston, I renew the motion to adjourn.

The motion to adjourn was put and lost.

Mr. R. M. Corwine, I move that we now proceed to ballot for President. [Great disorder, and cries of "Ballot," "Ballot."]

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Mr. Cartter, I call for a division by ayes and nays, to see if gentlemen want to go without their supper, [Derisive laughter, and cries of "Call the roll."]

THE CHAIR—I am requested by the Secretary to inform the gentlemen of the Convention that the papers necessary for the purpose of keeping the tally are prepared, but are not yet at hand, but will be in a few minutes.

A voice—I move that this Convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion prevailed, and the Convention adjourned until ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

THIRD DAY.

The Convention reassembled at ten o'clock, agreeably to adjournment. After the delegates had seated themselves, the proceedings were opened by the following prayer, by Rev. M. Green, of Chicago:

Our Lord, our God, we adore thee as the Eternal, immortal, invisible, and only true God. Every excellence adorns thy nature; every attribute of majesty supports thy throne. Thou art our God, and we will praise thee; our father's God, and we will exalt thee. We thank thee, O Lord, for thy numberless kindnesses which thou hast manifested towards this people, in their origin, in their deliverance from subsequent evils which have threatened them, and for the high degree of prosperity which we still enjoy. O God, forbid that we, their descendants, should be unworthy of our sires, who acknowledged thee in their ways, and invoked thy benediction upon their efforts to establish a free government. Lord, we entreat thee who hast delivered us from eternal enemies, to protect us from intestine evil. Oh! do thou, Infinite disposer of events, perpetuate our liberties. And now, we thank thee that thou hast permitted these delegates of the people to assemble and so far to pursue their object with such harmony and mutual respect. We pray thee still to clothe thy servant, the President of this body, with the authority requisite for his exalted post, and we entreat thee to bring to a happy result the labors of this body of representatives of the people. We entreat thee, that at some future but not distant day the evils which now invests the body politic shall not only have been arrested in their progress, but wholly eradicated from the system. And may the pen of the historian trace an intimate connection between that glorious consummation and the transactions of this Convention. O Lord, our God,thou art in Heaven and we on earth,therefore should our words be few. Our prayer is now before thee. Wilt thou hear, accept and answer it, for the sake of our Redeemer. Amen.

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention: The Chair feels it his first duty this morning to appeal, not merely to the gentlemen of the Convention, but to every individual of this vast audience, to remember the utmost importance of keeping and preserving order during the entire session—as much silence as possible; and he asks gentlemen who are not members of this

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Convention, in the name of this Convention, that they will, to their utmost ability, refrain from any demonstrations that may disturb the proceedings of the Convention. I should suggest to the delegates that they themselves set the example to their friends who are not members of this Convention; that each will to the utmost of his individual capacity, co-operate with the Chair in keeping entire order.

The Chair has received some communications, which he will lay before the Convention.

The Secretary read the communications, as follows:

CHICAGO, May 18, 1860.

Hon. George Ashmun, President of the National Convention, Chicago:

Dear Sir: —The delegates of the Convention are invited to an excursion, on Monday next, over the Galena and Chicago Union railroad to Dubuque, thence down the Mississippi river to Fulton or Clinton, from which place they can return to Chicago on Tuesday evening, or extend their excursion to Cedar Rapids, over the Chicago, Iowa and Nebraska railroad, and return on Wednesday evening in time to connect with eastern trains.

Very respectfully, yours,

E. B. TALCOTT, Superintendent.

A Delegate—I move that it lie on the table for the present.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair has received another communication, which will be read.

The Secretary read:

NEW YORK, May 17.

To the Republican National Convention:

At a meeting of the representatives of the working men of the different wards of this city, Brooklyn, Williamsburgh, and Greenpoint, held on the evening of the 16th inst., at Union Hall, 195 Bowery, it was—

Resolved, That the officers of the meeting be instructed to address the Republican National Convention, to assemble at Chicago, and respectfully request the Convention to declare itself opposed to all further traffic in the public lands of the U. S., and in favor of laying them out in farms and lots for the exclusive use of actual settlers.

We see this singular condition of affairs, that while wealth in our own country is accumulating; while internal improvements of every description are fast increasing, yet with all these advantages, the compensation for useful labor is getting less and less. We seek the cause of this anomaly, and we trace it to the monopoly of the land, with labor at the mercy of capitalists. We therefore desire to abolish the monopoly, not by interfering with the conventional rights of persons now in possession, but, by arresting the further sale of all land not yet appropriated as private property, and by allowing those lands hereafter to be freely occupied by those who may choose to settle on them. We propose that the public land hereafter shall not be owned, but occupied only. The occupant having the right to the sale of his or her improvements to any one not in possession of other lands, so that by preventing individuals from becoming possessed of more than a limited quantity, any one may enjoy the right.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY BENNING, Chairman.

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THE PRESIDENT—The Chair would suggest that the Committee on Platform and Resolutions having reported, and their report covering the subject matter of this resolution, that the communication lie upon the table. Assented to.

THE CHAIR—At the adjournment a motion was pending, made by Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, that the Convention do now proceed to ballot for a candidate for President of the United States [Applause.] That motion is the business now in order. [Cries of "question," "question."]

THE MARYLAND DELEGATION.

Mr. Blair, of Maryland, before the vote is taken upon that question I wish to ask leave to file the credentials of additional delegates to fill up the delegation from the State of Maryland. This is made necessary by the resolution or rule adopted yesterday by the Convention, which provided that the votes of the delegation from each State should be confined to the number of delegates present. The delegation from Maryland, not being full, it became necessary, under that rule, in order to cast the full vote of the State, that the delegation should be filled. At a meeting held last evening, the delegation was filled, in pursuance of the authority given us by the State Convention of Maryland, which we represent on this floor, I therefore offer the credentials of five additional delegates now present in their seats completing the delegation. [Cries of "leave," ', leave."]

THE CHAIR—No objection being made they will be received. What do you say?

Mr. Sargent, of California, the ratio of representation, as at present constituted, gives to Maryland eleven votes. I wish to inquire if the effect of receiving these credentials is to increase the number of votes to sixteen, or twice the number of her electoral vote, or if the vote is still simply eleven? If it is merely to receiving these gentlemen upon this floor to advise with the Maryland delegation, there can be no objection to the increase—letting the Maryland delegation stand on the same footing as now; but if it is proposed to increase their vote in this Convention, I shall certainly oppose it. If it is proposed now to increase the vote cast by that or any other State, I object. It seems to me that this matter was fully considered by the committee on credentials, voted on by the Convention when they received the report of that committee; their report is before the Convention, having been received, and before the vote of any State is increased, it seems to me that the matter ought to go back to the committee, and they should investigate the matter, and understand by what authority this increase is made. I therefore ask for information whether this proposition is to increase the vote of Maryland, or to increase the number of persons who will cast the vote already determined upon? If I am right in supposing that it is to increase their vote I shall oppose it.

Mr. Coale, of Maryland, I will answer the gentleman. We had to come some distance to get here; and we found when we met that there were only eleven gentlemen present. And so I, as a member of the committee on elections, handed in eleven names,

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because there were only eleven of us present: I stated, at the same time, that there was a full delegation elected, and that we had full power from our constituents to fill up all vacancies. We had the power and we had the right, but we deemed it improper and immodest in us to come forward at first and claim to cast the vote of the whole convention until we found Marylanders enough were present, ready and willing to take their places with us. Our delegation then held a meeting, and according to the right that has been exercised by every other delegation, and the authority given to us by our constituents, we filled the vacancies; and the gentlemen are here present. Shall we be thrown out now? Shall we be told that we are not to have the privileges of other delegations? That we are forbidden to do that which has been done by others? I have no idea that such illiberality will be extended to us.

Mr. Sargent of California, by the report of the committee, Maryland is entitled to cast eleven votes. The question is now, whether Maryland proposes to cast any beyond the eleven votes?

Mr. Coale, of Maryland, No, sir. We have six congressional districts, and we have six votes in virtue of these districts, and we have two senators, making eight, and to cast the full vote we double that number, making sixteen. In that way we would vote according to the same ratio with the other delegations.—["That's right, "that's right."]

THE CHAIR—The chair understands that on yesterday the Convention adopted a report of the Committee on Credentials, declaring Maryland entitled to eleven delegates, to cast eight votes; and understood also, that proposition made this morning, if adopted and ratified by the Convention, will give the power to sixteen gentlemen to cast eight votes—the same number, precisely, as before.

Mr. M. Blair of Maryland. The Committee on Credentials reported that the delegates present should cast the vote of the state. Our state is entitled on this floor, to sixteen delegates. While that report was before the Convention, and before the vote was taken on it, the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Goodrich, offered an amendment which limited the vote of the state to the delegates present, and that made it incumbent upon us, in order to cast the vote of the state, to fill up the delegation. That is the explanation, gentlemen, why we did not fill it up when we first came here. The body has before allowed the delegates to cast the vote of the state, whether more or less were present. We expected to cast the whole sixteen votes of Maryland. Now, we ask, in pursuance of the authority given us by the State Convention of Maryland, to fill up our delegation, and be able to cast the whole vote of the state of Maryland. I have not heard any gentleman object to our proposition to cast the full vote.

Mr. Benton of New Hampshire, and chairman of the Committee on Credentials. It was proposed to limit the number of votes to the number of delegates actually present. This was agreed to not only in reference to the state of Maryland, but Virginia, Oregon and Texas. It was discussed in committee, and it was finally agreed that this state should be allowed to cast eleven votes. After the committee adjourned one gentleman appeared and asked to be allowed to appear on the floor and vote. I told him it was too late. It was generally understood, and it was acted upon by almost unanimous consent, that the states which were not

fully represented should claim no more votes in the Convention than those here actually present either real or substituted delegates.

Mr. Armour of Maryland, as one of the delegates from the state of Maryland, I object to the credentials being received. ["Louder."] This is a matter of business and is not for outsiders. [A voice—"We ain't outsiders."] I say then that there are only eleven of us here, of the sixteen appointed by our State Convention. The Committee on Credentials reported that fact. Since the adjournment of the Convention—[A voice—"If you will take your seat on this side of the house, the Convention can hear you. We cannot hear you now."] I have a reason as one of the eleven delegates from the state of Maryland, to enter my solemn protest against the reception of the credentials as filled up. We met in the city of Baltimore and appointed eight delegates and eight alternates. But eleven of us are here. Eleven names were yesterday presented to the Committee on Credentials, and the Committee on Credentials made their report, and reported us eleven present and entitled to eight votes. Since the adjournment of the Convention on yesterday a portion of my co-delegates—I am not here to impugn their motives, nor do I intend to do so—a portion of them met without my knowledge, without the knowledge of at least one more, and perhaps two more of the delegates, and have filled up our delegation from gentlemen, God almighty only knows where they live. [Applause and laughter.]

I do not wish to place myself in an attitude hostile to the majority of my delegation. I do not wish to throw any embarrassment in the way of the peaceful settlement of all the business that has brought us together, but I wish to say that there is a gentleman here from Maryland, who has been knocking at the door of this Convention, but who has not been received; my co-delegates have refused to fill up the delegation with his name, and have, for purposes only known to themselves, filled it up with outsiders. For this reason, for the reason that the delegation has been made full by placing upon it the names of men unknown to me; by placing upon it the names of non-residents of the state of Maryland; and because I had no knowledge that this meeting was coming together; because I have not co-operated in this movement; because I do not know the purpose for which the delegation has been filled up, and because I think we should not pretend to present in this convention, a stronger front than that which we possess. We have eleven men here, and we should only vote our eleven votes. I hope gentlemen of the convention, you will vote this thing down. [Applause and cries for the question.]

Mr. Cartter of Ohio, I call for the previous question.

Previous question sustained, and motion to receive the delegates lost.

THE NOMINATION.

Mr. Evarts of New York, Mr. Chairman: As the Convention has by its vote decided to proceed to a ballot, you may be assured that I do not rise for the purpose of making a speech. I rise simply to ask, sir, whether it is in order to present names in nomination?

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THE PRESIDENT—The Chair is of the opinion that under the execution of the order adopted, it may be in order to put in nomination such persons as you may desire, without debate.

Mr. Evarts, I rise—

A voice, the Pennsylvania delegation is not provided with seats. [Voices—"Get them quick."]

THE PRESIDENT—I will take this opportunity to present a communication received by the Chair.

The Secretary read:

CHICAGO, MAY 18, 1860.

We feel it our duty to inform you that members of your Convention pass their tickets over the railings and through the windows to their friends who are not entitled to seats. If the Convention find inconvenience, it is the fault of the members and not through our interference. Any instructions you think proper to give will be strictly carried out.

PETER PAGE.
GURDON S. HUBBARD.
CHAS. N. HOLDEN.

The Chair requested the delegates to avoid the inconvenience spoken of by purging their own seats of outsiders.

Mr. Evarts, of New York, In the order of business before the Convention, Sir, I take the liberty to name as a candidate to be nominated by this Convention for the office of President of the United States, William H. Seward. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. Judd, of Illinois, I desire, on behalf of the delegation from Illinois, to put in nomination, as a candidate for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. [Immense applause, long continued.]

Mr. Dudley, of New Jersey, Mr. President, New Jersey presents the name of William L. Dayton. [Applause.]

Mr. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania nominates as her candidate for the Presidency, General Simon Cameron. [Cheers.]

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, Ohio presents to the consideration of this Convention as a candidate for President, the name of Salmon P. Chase. [Applause.]

Mr. C. B. Smith, of Indiana, I desire, on behalf of the delegation from Indiana, to second the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. [Tremendous applause.]

Mr. Blair, of Missouri, I am commissioned by the representatives of the State of Missouri to present to this Convention the name of Edward Bates as a candidate for the Presidency. [Applause.]

Mr. Blair, of Michigan, in behalf of the delegates from Michigan I second the nomination for President of the United States, of William H. Seward. [Loud applause.]

Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, I rise, Mr. President, at the request of many gentlemen, part of them members of this Convention, and many of them of the most respectable gentlemen known to the history

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of this country and its politics, to present the name of John McLean. [Applause.]

Mr. Schurz, of Wisconsin, I am commissioned by the delegation from the State of Wisconsin, to second the nomination of William H. Seward, of New York. [Warm applause.]

Mr. North, of Minnesota, I am commissioned, on behalf of the delegation from Minnesota, to second the nomination of William H. Seward. [Applause.]

Mr. Phillips, of Kansas, I am commissioned, not only by the delegation from Kansas, but by the people of Kansas, to present the name of William H. Seward, of New York.

Mr. Delano, of Ohio, I rise on behalf of a portion of the delegation from Ohio, to put in nomination the man who can split rails and maul Democrats—Abraham Lincoln. [Great applause.]

Mr. Logan, of Illinois, Mr. President, in order or out of order, I desire to move that this Convention, for itself and this vast audience, to give three cheers for all the candidates presented by the Republican party.

THE PRESIDENT—The gentleman is out of order.

Mr. Stone, of Iowa, Mr. President, I rise in the name of two thirds of the delegation of Iowa, to second the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. [Great applause.]

Mr. Andrew, of Massachusetts, I move you that we proceed to vote.

The Convention then balloted, with the following result:

FIRST BALLOT.

STATES.	Seward.	Lincoln.	Wade.	Cameron.	Bates.	McLean.	Reed.	Chase.	Dayton.	Sumner.	Fremont.	Collamer.
Maine	10	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	1	7	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
Vermont	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Massachusetts	21	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	..	..	..	..	1	5	1	1	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	..	2	1	..	7	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
New York	70	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	1½	4	..	47½	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	3	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	8	14	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	5	6	12	..	..	1	..	8	..	1	..	..
Ohio	..	8	..	..	..	4	..	34	..	..	..	..
Indiana	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri	..	..	..	..	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Texas	4	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	2	2	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
California	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TERRITORIES.												
Kansas	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

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EXPLANATION, &C.

Mr. Tracy, of California, I wish to say, as there has been one vote cast for Mr. Fremont, that he is not a candidate before this Convention.

When the State of Maryland was called, during the vote, Mr. Cochrane, Chairman of the delegation said:

The Republican State Convention of Maryland having requested that the delegation should vote as a unit, I therefore, in accordance with the wishes of a majority of the delegation, cast 11 votes for Edward Bates. [Applause.]

Mr. Coale. of Maryland, I object to that. I am a freeman in Maryland, although surrounded by slavery. If I were going to look for a place to be immolated upon the altar of slavery I should not come to Chicago—[great confusion and cries of "order."] Well, hear my point then. We are not instructed to vote for Edward Bates. Such a resolution was presented there and was instantly voted down. [A voice—You are not in order.] Well, my point is that we were not instructed, and that we will not act according to the recommendation except so far as we please.

Mr. Armour, of Maryland, I will present the point of protestation a little clearer than my aged friend has done. (Cries of "Call the roll.")

THE PRESIDENT—It is not a subject of debate. The question is, shall the Convention receive the eleven votes from the State of Maryland for Mr. Bates? and this must be decided without debate. (Voices—"Call the roll," "hear him,,' and great confusion.]

Mr. Armour, I do not wish to debate the point. I wish to state succinctly and clearly the point of our protest. Have I leave? (Cries of "Yes" and "No.") At the Convention which assembled at Maryland, a resolution was offered instructing the delegates of the State of Maryland to vote as a unit. There was a general feeling against that resolution, and a number of gentlemen spoke against it, and I had risen to protest against it when some gentleman in my rear moved that we be simply "recommended." Not one man in that Convention considered that "recommend" and "instruct" were synonymous terms. Not one of us considered that the recommendation was equivalent to an instruction. Therefore, we let it pass, believing then and now that we were free to cast our votes for the man of our choice, and we now claim that right on the floor of the Convention. (Cries of "Good," and applause.)

Mr. R. M. Corwine, of Ohio, one of the rules adopted yesterday declares that the Chairman of each delegation shall cast the vote of his delegation.

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A Voice—No, no! it says he shall "announce" it.

Mr. Coale, we will vote as we please and we will not vote any other way.

The Chair then stated the question.

Mr. Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, I rise to a point of order. I desire to know whether this Convention is to be governed by its rules or not? I call the attention of the President to the rule which we have adopted, and under which we must act, unless it is intended now to violate it.

THE CHAIR—The Chair is aware of the rule. The rule adopted was that the vote of each State should be announced by its chairman.

A Voice—He must but announce it and announce it truly.

THE CHAIR—And the Chair rules that he is bound to receive the report made by the Chairman of the delegation, and announce it to the Convention as their vote, unless it is rejected by the Convention; and the Chair, not wishing to take the responsibitity of settling this question, may refer it to the Convention, and the Chair now puts the question to the Convention: Shall the vote announced by the Chairman be received by the Convention as the vote of the State of Maryland?

The question was decided in the negative.

At the conclusion of the voting, which occupied considerable time, the result was announced by the Secretary of the Convention as follows:

For William H. Seward, of New York, 173½; for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, 102; for Edward Bates, of Missouri, 48; for Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, 50½; for John McLean, of Ohio, 12; for Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, 49; for Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, 3; for William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, 14; for John M. Reed, of Pennsylvania, 1; for Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, 10; for Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, 1; for John C. Fremont, of California, 1. Whole number of votes cast, 465; necessary to a choice, 233.

The Chair announced, that no candidate having received a majority of the whole number of votes cast, the Convention would proceed to a second ballot.

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SECOND BALLOT.

Mr. Caleb B. Smith in the Chair, the ballot proceeded as follows:

STATES.	Seward.	Lincoln.	Bates.	Cameron.	McLean.	Chase.	Dayton.	C.Clay.
Maine	10	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	1	9	..	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	22	4	..	..	.	..	..	..
Rhode Island	..	3	..	..	2	3	..	..
Connecticut	..	4	4	..	..	2	..	2
New York	70	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	4	..	..	..	..	..	10	..
Pennsylvania	2½	48	..	1	2½	..	..	..
Maryland	3	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	8	14	..	1	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	7	9	..	..	..	6	..	..
Ohio	..	14	..	..	5	29	..	..
Indiana	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri	..	..	18	..	..	..	.	..
Michigan	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois	..	22	..	..	..	..	..	..
Texas	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	2	5	..	..	½	½	..	..
California	8	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
TERRITORIES.								
Kansas	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	3	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
District of Columbia	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

After the vote was taken, and before it was announced—

Gov. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, I desire to state, that while the vote was going on, and after that vote was given, the name of Gen. Cameron was withdrawn. I now formally withdraw the name of Gen. Cameron from this Convention as a candidate for nomination.

(Great confusion while the ballot was being counted.)

The Secretary announced the result of the second ballot as follows:

For William H. Seward, of New York, 184½ votes. (Applause.) For Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, 181 votes. (Tremendous applause, checked by the Speaker.) For Edward Bates, of Missouri, 35 votes. For Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, 2 votes. For John McLean, of Ohio, 8 votes. For Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, 42½ votes. For William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, 10 votes. For Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, 2 votes. Whole number of votes cast, 465; necessary to a choice, 233.

The Chair announced that no candidate having received a majority of all the votes cast, there was no nomination, and the Convention would proceed to a third ballot, which was then taken, as follows:

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THIRD BALLOT.

STATES.	Seward.	Bates.	Chase.	Lincoln.	McLean.	Dayton.	C. M. Clay.
Maine	10	..	..	6	..	..	..
New Hampshire	1	..	..	9	..	..	..
Vermont	..	..	..	10	..	..	..
Massachusetts	18	..	..	8	..	..	..
Rhode Island	1	..	1	5	1	..	..
Connecticut	1	4	2	4	..	..	1
New York	70	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	5	..	..	8	..	1	..
Pennsylvania	..	..	..	52	2	..	..
Maryland	2	..	..	9	..	..	..
Delaware	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
Virginia	8	..	..	14	..	..	..
Kentucky	6	..	4	13	..	..	..
Ohio	..	..	15	29	2	..	..
Indiana	..	..	..	26	..	..	..
Missouri	..	18	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois	..	..	..	22	..	..	..
Texas	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	2	..	½	5½	..	..	..
California	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	1	..	..	4	..	..	..
TERRITORIES.							
Kansas	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	3	..	2	1	..	..	..
District of Columbia	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	180	22	24½	231½	5	1	1

The progress of the ballot was watched with most intense interest, especially toward the last, the crowd becoming silent as the contest narrowed down, when, before the result was announced,

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, said, I arise, Mr. Chairman, to announce the change of four votes of Ohio from Mr. Chase to Abraham Lincoln.

This announcement, giving Mr. Lincoln a majority, was greeted by the audience with the most enthusiastic and thundering applause. The entire crowd rose to their feet, applauding rapturously, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, the men waving and throwing up their hats by thousands, cheering again and again. The applause was renewed and repeated for many minutes. At last, partial silence having been restored, with many gentlemen striving to get the floor,

Mr. Evarts, of New York, Mr. Chairman, has the vote been declared?

THE CHAIR—No, sir.

Mr. Andrew, of Massachusetts, Mr. Chairman, I sought an opportunity some time since, and before finishing the roll call of the States, at the direction of many of my associates of the Mas-

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sachusetts delegation, to correct their vote. I am instructed to report that the vote from Massachusetts stands: for Abraham Lincoln, 18; for William H. Seward, 8. [Applause.]

Mr. McCrills, of Maine, Mr. Chairman, the young giant of the West has become of age. He is 21 years old. [Loud cries of "order."] Maine gives her vote unanimously in favor of Lincoln. [Renewed applause.]

Mr. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, I desire to correct the vote of Pennsylvania. In the haste of taking so large a number of delegates, it was not taken as they desire, and they wish me to announce it as, for Abraham Lincoln, 53; for John McLean, ½; for Wm. H. Seward, ½.

Mr. Rollins, of New Hampshire, I desire to correct the vote of New Hampshire. New Hampshire votes for Abraham Lincoln 10 votes. [Applause.]

Mr. Eames, of Rhode Island, Mr. Chairman, I desire now to announce that Rhode Island casts 8 votes for Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Welles, of Connecticut, Mr. Chairman, I am requested to state that the vote of Connecticut is 8 for Abraham Lincoln, 2 for Salmon P. Chase—the rest as before given.

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, I am requested by the delegation from Ohio to now present their unanimous vote for Abraham Lincoln, 46 votes. [Great applause.]

At this time there was great confusion. A salute was fired without, and responded to within the wigwam by vociferous cheers. A life size photograph of Mr. Lincoln was then brought upon the platform, and the audience greeted the sight with rapturous and long continued cheering.

Mr. Brown, of Missouri, I am instructed to cast the entire vote of Missouri—18 votes—for that gallant son of the West, Abraham Lincoln. [Great enthusiasm.]

A Delegate from Iowa, I am authorized by the delegation from Iowa, to change their vote, and make it unanimous for Lincoln. [Applause.]

Mr. Gallagher, of Kentucky, Mr. President, Kentucky came here, not to obtrude, but to sanction the expression that is now indicated, and casts a full vote for Abraham Lincoln. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. North, of Minnesota, I am authorized by the delegation from Minnesota, to make it unanimous for Abraham Lincoln.

A delegate from Virginia—The delegation from Virginia ask to have their full vote recorded for Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

Mr. Tracy, of California, I am directed by the delegation of California to change five votes in favor of Abraham Lincoln, making her vote 5 to 3.

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Mr. Fitch, of Texas, I am authorized by the delegation of Texas to have her vote recorded for Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Wyse, of the District of Columbia, I am authorized to change the vote of the District of Columbia from Wm. H. Seward to Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

Mr. Wilder, of Kansas, I am authorized by the delegation from Kansas to change her vote to the gallant disciple of the "irrepressible conflict," Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Webster, of Nebraska, Nebraska casts her unanimous vote for Abraham Lincoln.

A Delegate from Oregon—Oregon also casts her unanimous vote for Abraham Lincoln.

The vote was then announced by the Secretary as follows: Whole number of votes cast, 466; necessary to a choice, 234.

For Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, 364 votes.

THE CHAIR—Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, is selected as your candidate for President of the United States. [Thunders of applause and great confusion.]

Mr. Evarts, Chairman of the New York delegation, then took the stand and said—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the National Republican Convention: The State of New York, by a full delegation, with complete unanimity of purpose at home, came to this Convention and presented to its choice one of its citizens, who had served the State from boyhood up, who had labored for and loved it. We came from a great State, with, as we thought, a great Statesman (prolonged cheers), and our love of the great Republic from which we are all delegates, the great American Union, and our love of the great Republican party of the Union, and our love of our Statesman and candidate, made us think that we did our duty to the country and the whole country, in expressing our preference and love for him. (Loud cheers.) For, gentlemen, it was from Gov. Seward that most of us learned to love Republican principles and the Republican party. (Renewed cheers.) His fidelity to the country, the constitution and the laws, his fidelity to the party and the principle that the majority govern, his interest in the advancement of our party to its victory, that our country may rise to its true glory, induces me to assume to speak his sentiments as I do indeed the opinions of our delegation, when I move you, as I do now, that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, as the Republican candidate for the suffrages of the whole country for the office of Chief Magistrate of the American Union, be made unanimous. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

Several speakers then attempted to get the floor, which was accorded to Mr. Andrew, Chairman of the Massachusetts delegation. He said:

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Republican National Convention and Fellow Citizens of the United States of America:

I am deputed by the united voice of the Massachusetts delegation to second the motion just proposed by the distinguished citizen of New York, who represents the delegation of that noble

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state. I second that motion, therefore, in the name of Massachusetts, that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be made unanimous. [Loud cheers.] Gentlemen, the people of Massachusetts hold in their heart of hearts, next to their reverence and love for the Christian faith, their reverence and love for the doctrine of equal and impartial liberty. [Renewed cheers.] We are Republicans by a hundred thousand majority of the old stamp of the revolution. [Cheers.] We have come up here—the delegation from Massachusetts—from the ground where on Bunker's Hill the Yankees of New England met the deadly fire of Britain. We have come from Concord, where was spilled the first blood of the revolution; from Lexington, where its embattled farmers fired a shot that was heard around the world. We have come from Faneuil Hall, where spoke the patriots and sages, and soldiers of the earliest and best days of American history, where our fathers heard propounded those doctrines and principles of liberty and human equality which found their enunciation and exposition in the Constitution of Massachusetts, and by which, under judicial decision, human slavery was banished from the venerable soil of that ancient commonwealth, before the colonies were a united people. [Cheers.] We have come from the shadows of the old South Church, where American liberty was baptized in the waters of religion. [Loud applause.] We hold the purpose firm and strong, as we have through the tedious struggle of years now gone by, to rescue, before we die, the holy ark of American liberty from the grasp of the Philistines who hold it. Yes, sir, whether in the majority, or without the majority of the American people, there we stand. [Enthusiastic cheers.] Whether in victory, or in defeat, there we stand, and, as said the apostle, "having done all, still there we will stand, and because of our love and of our faith." The affection of our hearts and the judgment of our intellects bound our political fortunes to William Henry Seward, of New York [cheers]; him, who is the brightest and most shining light of this political generation [applause and cheers]; him, who, by the unanimous selection of the foes of our cause and our men, has for years been the determined standard-bearer of liberty, William H. Seward. [Loud cheers.] Whether in the legislature of his native State of New York, whether as governor of that young and growing imperial commonwealth, whether as senator of the United States, or as a tribune of the people, ever faithful, ever true. [Cheers.] In the thickest and the hottest of every battle there waved the white plume of the gallant leader of New York. [Cheers.] And, gentlemen, by no hand of Massachusetts was it for him to be stricken down. Dearly as we love triumph we are used to momentary defeat, because we are right; and whatever storms assail our ship before, in whatever gales she may reel and quake, we know that if the bark sinks it is but to another sea. We know that this cause of ours is bound to triumph, and that the American people will, one day, be convinced, if not in 1860, that the path of duty and patriotism leads in the direction of the Republican cause. It was not for us to strike down William Henry Seward, of New York. But Mr. President and gentlemen, as we love the cause, and as we respect our own convictions, and as we mean to be faithful to the only organization on earth which is in the van of the cause of freedom, so do we, with entire fidelity of heart, with entire concurrence of judgment, with the firmest and most fixed purpose of our will, adopt the opinion of the ma-

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jority of the Convention of delegates, to which the American people have assigned the duty of selection; and as Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, is the choice of the National Republican Convention, Abraham Lincoln is at this moment the choice of the Republicans of Massachusetts. [Enthusiastic cheers.] We wheel into line as one man, and we will roll up our 100,000 majority, and we will give you our 13 electoral votes, and we will show you that the "irrepressible conflict" is the "manifest destiny" of the Democracy. [Cheers.] The Republican party is to-day gentlemen, the only united national party in America. It is the cause of liberty. By universal concession, it is the cause of the Union, as it is the only party in the nation which stands by the Union and holds no secessionists in its ranks. Now, since the result (if it may be called a result), is known of the Convention at Charleston, the Democratic party is the only secession party in existence. That Democracy, which with proud defiance, has arrogated constant title of "National," exists only to-day in two sections, one of which is absolutely devoted to slavery, and the other of which is opposed to liberty. [Loud cheers and laughter.] Against that party, Mr. President and gentlemen, and against all those who hold its dogmas, or preach its heresies, with whatever associates, and under whatever lead, Massachusetts comes into the line, and under Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, we are bound to march with you to victory. [Tremendous cheers.]

Mr. Carl Schurz, Mr. President, I am commissioned by the delegation of Wisconsin to second the motion made by the distinguished gentleman from New York. The delegates of Wisconsin were instructed to cast their votes unanimously for William H. Seward, and it is unnecessary to say that the instructions we received added but solemn obligations to the spontaneous impulses of our hearts. [Great applause.] It would be needless to say anything of Mr. Seward. His claims stand recorded in the annals of the country, and they are reported in the hearts of the people. He needs no eulogy here, and my voice can add nothing to so powerful a testimony. We, gentlemen, went for him because we considered him foremost among the best, and to whatever may be said in his praise I will add but one thing. I know I am speaking in the spirit of Mr. Seward, when I say that this ambition will be satisfied with the success of the cause which was the dream of his youth, and to which he has devoted all the days of his manhood, even if the name of Wm. H. Seward should remain in history, an instance of the highest merit, uncrowned with the highest honor. [Loud cheers.] We stood by Mr. Seward to the last, and I tell you we stand by him yet, in support of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. [Applause.] With the platform we adopted yesterday, and with the candidate who so fairly represents it, as Mr. Lincoln does, we defy all the passion and prejudice that may be invoked against us by our opponents. We defy the whole slave power and the whole vassalage of hell. [Cheers universally prevailing.] Aye, and let them bring on their "Little Giant" himself. [Applause.]

Again, do we stand by Mr. Seward as we did before, for we know that he will be at the head of our column, joining in the battle cry that unites us now, "Lincoln and Victory." [Great applause.]

Mr. Austin Blair, of Michigan, Gentlemen of the Convention: Like my friend who as just taken his seat, the State of Michigan, from first to last, has cast her vote for the great statesman of

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New York. She has nothing to take back. She has not sent me forward to worship the rising sun, but she has put me forward to say that, at your behests here to-day, she lays down her first, best loved candidate to take up yours, with some beating of the heart, with some quivering in the veins [much applause]; but she does not fear that the fame of Seward will suffer, for she knows that his name is a portion of the history of the American Union; it will be written, and read, and beloved long after the temporary excitement of this day has passed away, and when presidents themselves are forgotten in the oblivion which comes over all temporal things. We stand by him still. We have followed him with a single eye and unwavering faith in times past. We marshal now behind him in the grand column which shall go out to battle for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

Mark, you, what has obtained to-day will obtain in November next. Lincoln will be elected by the people. We say of our candidate, God bless his magnanimous soul. [Tremendous applause.] I promise you that in the State of Michigan, which I have the honor to represent, where the Republican party from the days of its organization to this hour, never suffered a single defeat, we will give you for the gallant son of Illinois, and glorious standard-bearer of the West, a round twenty-five thousand majority.

Mr. Evarts, I have no desire to cut short any speeches of a general character that are desired to be made, but I would suggest to the Convention that we have perhaps given a liberal share of our time to this enthusiasm at this stage of our duty. I rise, merely to make a suggestion and a motion in regard to the subject of Vice-President and the adjournment of the Convention. Will the Convention allow me to do so?

Mr. Judd, Illinois desires to respond by Mr. Browning for a few moments.

Mr, Evarts, I did not exactly understand the nature of my friend's suggestion, but I suppose from what has passed between him and me that I gather his purpose, and if he proposes to do it now before I make my business motions, it is all the same to me. [Voices—"Go on."] If I go on he can have an spportunity to say what he wishes to say afterwards.

Now Mr. Chairman, it is half past one o'clock, and I think we require as much time as from now till five o'clock, on the rise of this Convention. I would suggest, if no more desirable or rapid plan can be suggested, that the chairman of each delegation, states and territories, here present, meet at some hour in the interval, at the headquarters of the New York delegation at the Richmond House. Is that agreeable and convenient? [Voices—"Agreed."] I would suggest then that they should meet at that place as early as three o'clock. Is that suitable? [Voices—"Yes," and "All right."]

Then allow me to say to my own delegation that I wish they would meet at the same place, the headquarters of our delegation, at the Richmond House, immediately after the adjournment of the Convention.

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I move, sir, now, that this Convention adjourn to meet at five o'clock, and that the balloting for Vice-President be laid over during recess.

Carried *nem. con.*

Mr. Evarts, now, Mr. Chairman, allow me to say that I have been in error or out of order all the while, and you with me also. The motion that I made that the nomination be made unanimous has not yet been put. I suppose the observations of my friend from Illinois are in order.

THE PRESIDENT—The Chair begs leave to state that the gentleman has not been out of order. Mr. Browning, of Illinois, will now take the floor.

ILLINOIS RESPONDS.

Mr. Browning, of Illinois, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention: On behalf of the Illinois delegation, I have been requested to make some proper response to the speeches that we have heard from our friends of the other states. Illinois ought hardly on this occasion to be expected to make a speech, or be called upon to do so. We are so much elated at present that we are scarcely in a condition to collect our own thoughts, or to express them intelligently to those who may listen to us.

I desire to say, gentlemen of the Convention, that in the contest through which we have just passed, we have been actuated by no feeling of hostility to the illustrious statesman from New York, who was in competition with our own loved and gallant son. We were actuated solely by a desire for the certain advancement of Republicanism. The Republicans of Illinois, believing that the principles of the Republican party are the same principles which embalmed the hearts and nerved the arms of our patriot sires of the revolution; that they are the same principles which were vindicated upon every battle field of American freedom, were actuated solely by the conviction that the triumph of these principles was necessary not only to the salvation of our party, but to the perpetuation of the free institutions whose blessings we now enjoy, and we have struggled against the nomination of the illustrious statesman of New York solely because we believed here that we could go into battle on the prairies of Illinois with more hope and more prospect of success under the leadership of our own noble son. No Republican who has a love of freedom in his heart, and who has marked the course of Governor Seward, of New York, in the councils of our nation, who has witnessed the many occasions upon which he has risen to the very height of moral sublimity in his conflicts with the enemies of free institutions, no heart that has the love of freedom in it and has witnessed these great conflicts of his, can do otherwise than venerate his name on this occasion. I desire to say only, that the hearts of Illinois are to-day filled with emotions of gratification, for which they have no utterance. We are not more overcome by the triumph of our noble Lincoln, loving him as we do, knowing the purity of his past life, the integrity of his character, and devotion to the principles of our party, and the gallantry with which we will be conducted through this contest, than we are by the magnanimity of our friends of the great and glorious State of New York in moving to make this nomination unanimous. On behalf of the

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delegation from Illinois, for the Republican party of this great and growing prarie state, I return to all our friends, New York included, our heartfelt thanks and gratitude for the nomination of this Convention. [Applause.]

The Convention then adjourned until five o'clock p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention re-assembled and was called to order by the President at 5 o'clock.

The Chair announced that the first business in order was to proceed to ballot for a candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

Mr. Wilder, of Kansas, Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the Kansas delegation, I am commissioned to nominate John Hickman, of Pennsylvania, as the candidate of the Republican party for the office of Vice-President of the United States. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, I will present the name of Senator Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine. [Great cheering.]

Mr. Lewis, of Pennsylvania, I second the nomination of John Hickman, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, Mr. President, in behalf of a large majority of the delegation from Massachusetts, and in behalf, I believe, of a great majority of the people of that Commonwealth and New England, I present the name of the iron man of Massachusetts, Nathaniel P. Banks. [Loud applause.]

Mr. Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, in behalf of a large number of the Indiana delegation, I present the name of the gallant son of Kentucky, Cassius M. Clay. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

A delegate at the north end of the platform, with all my heart I second the nomination of Cash. Clay.

Mr. Lowry, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Chairman, I nominate Andrew H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, Governor of Kansas. [Loud applause.]

The Convention then proceeded to ballot as follows:

FIRST BALLOT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

STATES.	Cass. M. Clay.	Banks.	Reeder.	Hickman.	Hamlin.	Reed.	H. Winter Davis	Dayton.	Houston.
Maine	..	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	..	..	..	.	10	..	..	..	..
Vermont	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	..	20	1	1	1	..	..	..	.
Rhode Island	.	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	2	1	..	2	5	..	..	..	..
New York	9	4	2	11	35	1	8	..	..
New Jersey	1	..	7	..	6	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	4½	2½	24	7	11	..	..	3	..

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STATES.	Cass M. Clay.	Banks.	Reeder.	Hickman.	Hamlin.	Reed.	H. Winter Davis	Dayton.	Houston.
Maryland	2	..	..	1	8	..	..	..	..
Delaware	3	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	.
Virginia	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	23		..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ohio	..	..	..	..	46	..	..	..	..
Indiana	18	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..
Missouri	..	9	..	9	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan	4	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..
Illinois	2	..	16	2	2	..	..	..	..
Texas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Wisconsin	5	..	.	..	5	..	..	..	..
Iowa	..	1	1	..	6	..	..	..	..
California	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	1	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..
Oregon	..	1	..	3	1	..	..	..	..
TERRITORIES.									
Kansas	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	1	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	101½	38½	51	58	194	1	8	3	6

THE CHAIR (the result having been announced)—No one having received a majority, the roll will be called again for a second ballot.

THE SECOND BALLOT.

The Convention then proceeded to a second ballot, which resulted as follows:

STATES.	Hamlin.	Clay.	Hickman.
Maine	16	..	..
New Hampshire	10	..	..
Vermont	10	..	..
Massachusetts	26	..	..
Rhode Island	8	..	..
Connecticut	10	..	2
New York	70	..	..
New Jersey	14	..	..
Pennsylvania	54	.	..
Maryland	10	1	..
Delaware	6	..	..
Virginia	..	23	..
Kentucky	.	23	..
Ohio	46	..	..
Indiana	12	14	..
Missouri	13	5	..
Michigan	8	4	..
Illinois	20	2	..
Texas	..	6	..
Wisconsin	5	5	..
Iowa	8	..	..
California	7	1	..
Minnesota	7	1	..
Oregon	3	..	2
TERRITORIES.			
Kansas	2	1	3
Nebraska	..	..	6
District of Columbia	2	..	..
Total	357	86	13

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WITHDRAWALS, ETC.

Mr. Andrew, of Massachusetts, the State of Massachusetts withdraws her vote for Mr. Nathaniel P. Banks, and casts her vote for Mr. Hamlin.

Mr. Kelly, of Pennsylvania, I rise for the purpose of withdrawing the name of A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania.

GREETINGS.

THE CHAIR—We have a dispatch from Detroit, which I wish to read:

To the Republican Convention assembled in the Republican Wigwam at Chicago, greeting:

One hundred guns are now being fired in honor of the nomination of Lincoln. [Immense applause.]

THE RESULT.

THE PRESIDENT—The result of the last ballot, gentlemen, I will now announce. There were cast 466 votes; 234 are necessary for a choice. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, has received 357 votes, and is nominated as the candidate of the Republican party for Vice-President.

Mr. Blakey, of Kentucky, in behalf of the friends of that gallant son of freedom, Cassius M. Clay, I move that the nomination of Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, be made unanimous, and in retiring from this Convention at its close, allow me to return to those who have honored him with their votes, an assurance of his regards; assuring them at the same time that in casting their votes for that gallant son, they have voted for a man whose only crime has been that he has rolled freedom as a sweet morsel under his tongue, while on his lips liberty has loved to linger. [Great applause.]

Mr. Curtis, of New York, three cheers for Cassius M. Clay.

The call was promptly responded to.

THE CHAIR—It has been moved and seconded that the nomination of Mr. Hamlin be made unanimous.

Mr. Smith, of Indiana, as I had the honor of presenting to this Convention the name of Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, as a candidate for Vice-President of the United States, I deem it proper that I should second the motion made by the gentleman from Kentucky, to make the nomination of Mr. Hamlin unanimous.

In seconding this motion I beg leave to state that in the opinion of the Republicans of the State which I in part represent, there is no one of the many distinguished advocates of the Republican party, no one of that illustrious band who are contending for the principle of freedom, who is more endeared to the great heart of the Republicans of this country, than is Cassius M. Clay.

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It is a very easy matter for us who live upon soil unstained by slavery; who breathe the free air of States where the manacles of the slave are never seen, and their wailings are never heard, to advocate the principles of the Republican party; but, gentlemen, to advocate those principles upon the soil of slavery itself, in the very face and shadows of their altars and false gods, requires a degree of moral heroism of which but few of us can boast.

I have an assurance that this cause will triumph, and that the flag of freedom will wave in triumph over the land. [Loud applause.] Let me assure you, gentlemen, when that cause shall be borne aloft in triumph, and its glorious folds shall be expanded to the wings of heaven, you will see inscribed upon its brightest folds in characters of living light, the name of Cassius M. Clay. [Great applause.]

We have now completed the great work for which we assembled here. We have presented to this country a ticket which will command the love and admiration of Republicans everywhere, and the respect and esteem of the entire country. [Applause.] In leaving this fair State, and this large and enthusiastic assembly, I shall leave it with an abiding confidence that that ticket will be triumphant; for let me assure you that, with the gallant son of Illinois as our standard-bearer; with the platform which we have adopted; with the distinguished Senator from Maine as the second in command, I feel that we stand upon a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

In behalf of my friends of Indiana, I would say that any efforts which we have made to secure the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, we have been animated by no feeling of animosity toward the distinguished son of New York, for in no single State of the Union is the name of William H. Seward more highly honored than in Indiana. [Applause.] We would not, if we could, pluck one leaf from the laurel that adorns his brow; we would not tarnish one letter in the history which will render his name illustrious in all coming time. It is not that we have loved Seward less, but because we have loved the great Republican cause more.

Thirty years ago on the Southern frontier of Indiana might have been seen a humble, ragged boy, bare footed, driving his oxen through the hills, and he has elevated himself to the pinnacle which has now presented him as the candidate of this convention. It is an illustration of that spirit of enterprise which characterizes the West, and every western heart will throb with joy when the name of Lincoln shall be presented to them as the candidate of the Republican party. [Great and long continued applause.]

In conclusion I assure you that the Republican flag will wave in triumph upon the soil of Indiana.

Mr. McCrillis, of Maine—Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I will detain you but a single moment. I wish in the first place to make an acknowledgment in behalf of the people of Maine, for the honor that this Convention has conferred upon them by selecting one of her distinguished sons for the candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States. Mr. President, the people of Maine were the ardent admirers and friends of William H. Seward. [Applause and cheers.] They believed that the candidate which this Convention would nominate would surely be the next President of these United States, and

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they charged their delegation that above all things they should select a man loyal to the spirit of human liberty—loyal to the spirit of free government, loyal to the principles upon which our fathers laid deep the foundations of this great empire—loyal to the Constitution and loyal to the Union of these States. And, Mr. Chairman, they believe that in the person of Wm. H. Seward, the great Senator of New York, all these great qualities were combined in addition to his eminent and distinguished services to the Republican casue, and his exalted statesmanship. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, however earnest we may have been in pressing the claims of our particular candidates, when the President of the Convention announced the result, all partisan feelings and differences subsided and we stood together as a band of brethren, as a united phalanx. And when the electric spark shall convey the intelligence of the nomination to the remotest portions of this Republic, every Republican will stand by his fellow, forming a united phalanx and elect the nominee. Illinois and Maine are not only sisters in the great family of States, they are not only sisters under the Constitution—sisters in law, but they are by kindred and by blood. Of the people of New England thousands upon thousands are our brethren and sisters who have emigrated to Illinois and are scattered throughout the great West. And here, sir, they are among the living, and here their bones repose among the dead. In 1856, the man who is now your candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States, resigned his seat as Chairman of the Committee on Commerce in the United States Senate, and was nominated for Governor of the State of Maine. Maine led the van in the conflict. In September of that year, Maine electrified the nation by a vote of 20,000 majority. She led the van in that great fight. She was the Star in the East—the bright Star that illuminated the whole Northern horizon; she was the Star of Hope—like the Star of Bethlehem. She came over and stood by the cause of freedom with her young and gallant leader. Mr. Chairman, I know the people of Maine well. I know that they will give a cordial and united support of this ticket. I know that from every hill, from every valley, and every mountain—along her rivers—along her rock-bound coast, the nomination of Abraham Lincoln will be hailed with one spontaneous, loud, long and continued shout of enthusiasm and applause; and that the people will inscribe on her banner, "Lincoln and Hamlin—Union and Victory." [Tumultuous applause.]

The motion to make the nomination of Mr. Hamlin unanimous was then put to vote, and carried with the greatest enthusiasm.

[Loud cries of "Corwin," "Corwin."]

Mr. Cartter, of Ohio, I desire to make an apology for my collegue. Mr. Corwin has been very frequently called for in this assembly, with the view of eliciting a response from him. He is now lying indisposed upon his back at a private residence in this town, and he requested me to make this apology if he should be called upon; and at the same time to give the Republicans here assembled the assurance of his full approbation of what has

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transpired here; and the further assurance of his labor throughout this campaign. [Applause and cries of "good," "good," "Corwin forever."]

Mr. Tuck, of New Hampshire, Mr. President, I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the President of this Convention, and the chairmen of the respective delegations, be appointed a committee to notify Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, of their nomination by this Convention as the candidates of the Republican party, for the offices, respectively, of President and Vice-President of the United States.

A Delegate—I move to amend by inserting the word "unanimous" before "nomination."

The amendment was accepted and the resolution adopted unanimously.

A RESOLUTION.

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with those men who have been driven, some from their native states and others from the states of their adoption, and are now exiled from their homes on account of their opinions; and we hold the Democratic party responsible for this gross violation of that clause of the Constitution which declares that the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

Resolution adopted.

Mr. Lane of Indiana, was received with many cheers. Freemen of the United States, you have to-day inaugurated a grand work. No event in the history of the United States, subsequent to the Declaration of Independence, is more sublime and impressive than the event which has this day been inaugurated in this vast presence of the freemen of the United States of America. Into your hands this day is placed the grand responsibility of bearing the torch of civilization in the vanguard of freedom. I ask you to bear it aloft and upward until the whole world shall glow with the light of our illumination. My fellow citizens, the work commenced to-day shall go on, until complete victory shall await our efforts in November.

The position of many of the states of the West may have been misunderstood. We regard to-day William H. Seward as the grandest representative of the liberty-loving instincts of the human heart who exists in the United States. In our heart of hearts we love him, and would make him President to-day if we had the power to do so; but we regard Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, as an equally orthodox representative of Republican principles, and a most beautiful illustration of the power of free institutions and the doctrines of free labor in the United States.

My fellow citizens, it is not my purpose at this late hour further to detain you. In the present contest is involvednotonly the well-being, but the very existence of the government under which we live. I ask you by your action to sternly rebuke the disunion spirit which now disgraces the politics of the United States, and

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to burn hissing hot into the brazen front of Southern Democracy the brand of disunion, as God marked Cain, the first murderer. [Great applause.]

My fellow citizens, I find myself unable after the eloquent responses to which you have listened this day, to express to you the sentiments which are in my heart. Massachusetts has responded to this nomination; old Faneuil Hall, where the revolution was born, and where the power of British supremacy was made to rock and reel in 1779, has responded; New York, the Empire State; the noble commonwealth of Kentucky; the grand prairie State of Illinois; and Virginia, the mother of states, have responded. We shake hands and pledge ourselves to labor until a complete triumph shall await our efforts in November.

My fellow citizens, some doubts have been expressed in reference to Indiana. I pledge Indiana by ten thousand majority. [Great and enthusiastic applause.] I pledge my personal honor for the redemption of that state. [Renewed applause.]

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. Smith, of Indiana, I move that the roll be called, and that each delegation appoint a member of the National Committee.

The roll was then called and the following gentlemen selected.

Maine, Charles J. Gilman; New Hampshire, George D. Frogg; Vermont, Lawrence Brainerd; Massachusetts, John Z. Goodrich; Rhode Island, Thomas G. Turner; Connecticut, Gideon Welles; New York, Edwin D. Morgan; New Jersey, Denning Duer; Pennsylvania, Edward McPherson; Maryland, James F. Wagner; Delaware, N. B. Smithers; Virginia, Alfred Caldwell; Kentucky, Cassius M. Clay; Ohio, Thomas Spooner; Indiana, Solomon Meredith; Missouri, Asa S. Jones; Michigan, Austin Blair; Illinois, Norman B. Judd; Texas, D. Henderson; Wisconsin, Carl Schurz; Iowa, Andrew J. Stevens; California, D. W. Cheesman; Minnesota, John McKusick; Oregon, W. E. Johnson; Kansas, Wm. A. Phillips; Nebraska, O. H. Irish; District of Columbia, John Gerhard.

Mr. Goodrich, of Minnesota, I am requested to state to this Convention, and to the citizens and strangers, ladies and gentlemen in attendance, that a triumphal procession will form at the head of Washington street, on Michigan avenue, at eight o'clock this evening; and will march thence to Lake street, thence down to Dearborn street, down Dearborn street to Randolph, up Randolph to Franklin, thence to Lake street, and thence to this Wigwam, or Tabernacle, where delegations, citizens and strangers are invited to join in one grand ratification of the nominations made here today. [Applause.]

A Delegate—Mr. President—

Mr. Goodrich, I am yet charged with other matters. Be yet patient. I desire now to offer a resolution that I doubt not will meet the cordial amen—[great confusion and manifestations of impatience by the audience]—I don't like to speak against the noise—that will meet the cordial approbation of every gentleman in this Convention.

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Resolved, That the hospitality, taste, zeal and munificence displayed by the ladies and gentlemen of the city of Chicago, in aid of the great Republican cause, challenges the admiration, and deserves the hearty thanks of this Convention, and of the party throughout the United States. [Great applause.]

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Mr. Goodrich (proceeding without having resumed his seat), one word more, Mr. President—

Several delegates—Mr. President (the audience here became impatient and the speaker's voice was lost in the tumult. Cries of "No speech," "Read your resolution and sit down," &c.)

Mr. Goodrich, a little more silence. [Uproarious and derisive laughter.] I have been desired to say that, inasmuch as Minnesota has not yet responded to the nominations that have been made to-day, and inasmuch as she stood up to the last moment for New York's favorite son as her first choice, and in doing that she believed she was doing that which was right; yet, she bows to the will of the majority; and I am prepared to say that, however much she regrets the defeat of her favorite candidate, the vote of Minnesota at the polls will be cast for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois [applause, "good, good," and cheers,"], and that, though the delegates here labored for their first choice, yet they will be found laboring with equal zeal and energy for the nominee of this Convention. One word more. ["No, no," "Dry up."] I am not in the habit of being halloed down, even by opponents, and certainly not by friends, and the friends of the cause that I claim to be an humble advocate of.

A voice—If you are our friend let us adjourn. [Laughter.]

Mr. Goodrich, the representatives from Minnesota feel that a seat in the Presidential chair would not add one jot to the stature of William H. Seward. Of all earthly fame has he seen the vanity. Lasting, exalted is his fame. Whenever lofty deeds—

The audience here became impatient and vociferous in their calls to proceed to business and the speaker could proceed no further.

THE CHAIR—At an early hour in the session of the Convention, two communications were received—respectful communications from two railroad corporations offering to the Convention an opportunity for a visit to the Mississippi on the Chicago and Rock Island and Chicago and Galena Railroads, and laid on the table.

EXCURSIONS ACCEPTED.

Mr. Murphy, of Michigan, I have a resolution of acceptance:

Resolved, That the invitation of the officers of the Chicago and Rock Island and Chicago and Galena Union railroads, for an excursion over the same by the members of the Convention, be accepted, and that a committee of three be appointed to notify Mr. Talcott and Mr. Farnum of the same.

Resolution adopted and the following committee appointed: Murphy, of Michigan, Judd, of Illinois, and Smith, of Indiana.

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RATIO OF VOTING.

Mr. Ashley, of Ohio, I propose for adoption the following resolution, in order to avoid in future either two sets of delegates or the inequality of representation in the Convention.

Resolved, That the Republican National Committee, appointed by this Convention, be and they are hereby instructed to prescribe a uniform rule that shall operate equally in all the states and territories, whereby in future the wishes and preferences of the electors in the Republican organization in the choice of delegates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency may be fully and fairly ascertained; and that the basis of the nominating vote be fixed as near as may be in proportion to the number of Republican electors found to reside, at the last general state election preceding the nomination, in each congressional district throughout the Union.

Mr. Benton, of New Hampshire, I move that the resolution be laid on the table.

Mr. Cogswell, of Massachusetts, I move that the resolution be referred to the National Committee.

Mr. Benton, my resolution has precedence. I move to lay it on the table.

Mr. Cogswell, I withdraw my motion.

Resolution laid on the table.

Mr. Briggs, of Vermont, moved that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the Hon. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, for the admirable manner in which he had presided over the deliberations of the Convention.

The motion was carried unanimously.

A Delegate moved that the thanks of the Convention be tendered to the Vice-Presidents and Secretaries for the able manner in which they had discharged their duties.

Col. Pinckney, of New York, I move to amend by inserting the words "especially the Reading Secretary" (Mr. Pratt, of Indiana).

Mr. Sargent, of California, moved that the Convention do now adjourn *sine die*, with nine cheers for the platform and the ticket. [Given.]

THE VALEDICTORY.

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention: It becomes now my duty to put to you the last motion which, in the order of parliamentary law, the President has the power to propose. It will probably be the last proposition which he can ever make to most of you in any convention. But before doing it, and before making a single other remark, I beg to tender you each and all my cordial thanks for the kind manner in which you have sustained me in the performance of the duties of this station. I confess to you, when I assumed it, I did it with some apprehension that I might not be able to come up to the expectations which had been formed. It was a bold undertaking, in every respect, and I know that I could not have accomplished it half so well as I have

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done, but for the extreme generosity manifested on all sides of the house. There was a solemn purpose here in the minds and in the hearts of not merely the Convention, but of the vast assemblage which has surrounded us, that before we separated we would accomplish the high duty. That duty, gentlemen, we have accomplished. Your sober judgments, your calm deliberations, after a comparison and discussion, free, frank, brotherly and patriotic, have arrived at a conclusion at which the American people will arrive. Every symptom, every sign, every indication accompanying the Convention in all its stages are a high assurance of success, and I will not doubt, and none of us do doubt, that it will be a glorious success.

Allow me to say of the nominees that, although it may be of no consequence to the American people or to you, they are both personally known to me. It was my good fortune to have served with Mr. Lincoln in the Congress of the United States, and I rejoice in the opportunity to say that there was never elected to the House of Representatives a purer, nor a more intelligent and loyal representative than Abraham Lincoln. [Great applause.] The contest through which he passed during the last two years has tried him as by fire, and in that contest in which we are about to go for him now I am sure that there is not one man in this country that will be compelled to hang his head for anything in the life of Abraham Lincoln. You have a candidate worthy of the cause; you are pledged to his success; humanity is pledged to his success; the cause of free government is pledged to his success. The decree has gone forth that he shall succeed. [Tremendous applause.]

I have served also in public life with Hannibal Hamlin. In the House of Representatives we were ranged on different sides. He was a firm Democrat of the old school, while I was as firmly, and perhaps too much so, a copy of the Webster school. [Applause.] But as is known to many of the gentlemen who sit here before me to-day, there was always a sympathetic chord between him and me upon the question that has brought us here to-day. [Great applause.] And while the old divisions of party have crumbled away, and the force of circumstances has given rise to new issues, it is not strange that we are found battling together in the common cause. I say then, gentlemen, that you have got a ticket worthy of the cause, and worthy of the country.

Now, gentlemen, that we have completed so well, so thoroughly the great work which the people sent us here to do, let us adjourn to our several constituencies; and, thanks be to God who giveth the victory, we will triumph. [Applause.]

A Delegate—Mr. President, may I suggest that when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet at the White House on the 4th of March next?

Mr. Ashmun, no other motion is now in order, but that solemn one which must come to us all. Is it your pleasure that we now separate? As many as are in favor of the motion that this Convention do now adjourn *sine die* say aye.

The motion prevailed, and the Convention was declared by the President adjourned *sine die*.

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OFFICIAL ROLL OF THE CONVENTION.

The following is the Official Roll of the delegates admitted to seats in the Convention. We do not vouch for its entire accuracy, but we believe it very nearly, if not quite correct:

President—Hon. GEO. ASHMUN, of Massachusetts.

Vice Presidents—California, A. A. Sargent; Connecticut, C. F. Cleveland; Delaware, John C. Clark; Iowa, H. P. Scholte; Illinois, David Davis; Indiana, John Beard; Kentucky, W. D. Gallagher; Maine, Samuel F. Hersey; Maryland, Wm. L. Marshall; Massachusetts, Ensign H. Kellogg; Michigan, Thomas White Ferry; Minnesota, Aaron Goodrich; Missouri, Henry T. Blow; New York, Wm. Curtis Noyes; New Jersey, E. Y. Rogers; New Hampshire, Wm. Haile; Ohio, Geo. D. Burgess; Oregon, Joel Burlingame; Pennsylvania, Thad. Stevens; Rhode Island, Rowland G. Hazard; Texas, Wm T. Chandler; Vermont, Wm. Hebord; Virginia, R. Crawford; Wisconsin, Hans Crocker; Nebraska, A. S. Paddock; Kansas, W. W. Ross; District Columbia, Geo. Harrington.

Secretaries—California, D. J. Staples; Connecticut, H. H. Starkweather; Delaware, B. J. Hopkins; Iowa, William B. Allison; Illinois, O. L. Davis; Indiana, Daniel D. Pratt; Kentucky, Stephen J. Howes; Maine, C. A. Wing; Maryland, William E. Coale; Massachusetts, Charles O. Rogers; Michigan, W. S. Stoughton; Minnesota, D. A. Secombe; Missouri, J. K. Kidd; New York, Geo. W. Curtis; New Jersey, Edward Brettle; New Hampshire, Nathan Hubbard; Ohio, N. J. Beebe; Oregon, Eli Thayer; Pennsylvania, J. B. Serrill; Rhode Island, R. R. Hazard, Jr.; Texas, Dunbar Henderson; Vermont, John W. Stewart; Wisconsin, L. F. Frisby; Kansas, John A. Martin; Nebraska, H. P. Hitchcock.

DELEGATES.

MAINE—EIGHT VOTES.

AT LARGE.

George F. Talbot, of Machias.
Wm. H. McCrillis, of Bangor.
John L. Stevens, of Augusta.
Rensellaer Cram, of Portland.

DISTRICTS.

1 Mark F. Wentworth, of Kittery.
Leonard Andrews, of Biddeford.
2 Charles J. Gilman, of Brunswick.
Seward Dill, of Phillips.
3 Nathan G. Hichborn, of Stockton.
George W. Lawrence, of Warren.
4 C. A. Wing, of Winthrop.
J. S. Baker, of Bath.
5 Samuel F. Hersey, of Bangor.
Going Hathorn, of Pittsfield.
6 John West, of Franklin.
Washington Long, of Fort Fairfield.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—FIVE VOTES.

AT LARGE.

Hon. Edward H. Rollins.
Hon. Aaron H. Cragin.
Hon. William Haile.
Hon. Amos Tuck.

DISTRICTS.

1 Nathaniel Hubbard.
George Matthewson.
2 B. F. Martin.
F. H. Morgan.
3 Jacob Benton.
Jacob C. Bean.

VERMONT—FIVE VOTES.

AT LARGE.

E. N. Briggs, Brandon.
Peter T. Washburn, Woodstock.
E. D. Mason, Richmond.
D. C. Redington, St. Johnsbury.

DISTRICTS.

1 John W. Stewart, Middlebury.
E. B. Burton, Manchester.
2 Hugh H. Henry, Chester.
Wm. Hebord, Chelsea.
3 Wm Clapp, St. Albans.
E. B. Sawyer, Hyde Park.

MASSACHUSETTS—13 VOTES.

AT LARGE.

John A. Andrew, Boston.
Ensign H. Kellogg, Pittsfield.
George S. Boutwell, Groton.
Linus B. Comins, Boston.

DISTRICTS.

1 Joseph M. Day, Barnstable.
Jonathan Bourne, Jr., New Bedford.
2 Robert T. Davis, Fall River.
Seth Webb, Jr., Scituate.
3 Edward L. Pierce, Milton.
William Claflin, Newton.
4 Charles O. Rogers, Boston.
Josiah Dunham, Boston.
5 Samuel Hooper, Boston.
George Wm. McLellan, Cambridge.
6 Timothy Davis, Gloucester.
Eben F. Stone, Newburyport.
7 George Cogswell, Bradford.
Timothy Winn, Woburn.
8 Theodore H. Sweetser, Lowell.
John S. Keyes, Concord.
9 John D. Baldwin, Worcester.
Edward B. Bigelow, Grafton.
10 John Wells, Chicopee.
Erastus Hopkins, Northampton.
11 John H. Coffin, Great Barrington.
Matthew D. Field, Southwick.

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RHODE ISLAND—FOUR VOTES.

AT LARGE.

James F. Simmons, U. S. Senate.
Nathaniel B. Durfee, Tiverton
Benedict Lapham, Centreville.
W. H. S. Bayley, Bristol.

DISTRICTS.

1 Benjamin T. Eames, Providence.
Rowland R. Hazard, Jr., Newport.
2 Rowland G. Hazard, Peacedale.
Simon Henry Greene, Phenix.

CONNECTICUT—SIX VOTES.

AT LARGE.

Gideon Welles, Hartford.
Eleazer K. Foster, New Haven.
Chauncey F. Cleveland, Hampton.
Alexander H. Holley, Salisbury.

DISTRICTS.

1 Samuel Q. Porter, Unionville P. O.
Leverett E. Pease, Somers.
2. Stephen W. Kellogg, Waterbury.
Arthur B. Calef, Middletown.
3 David Gallup, Plainfield.
Henry H. Starkweather, Norwich.
4 Edgar S. Tweedy, Danbury.
George H. Noble, New Milford.

NEW YORK—THIRTY-FIVE VOTES.

AT LARGE.

William M. Evarts, New York.
Preston King, Ogdensburgh.
John L. Schoolcraft, Albany.
Henry R. Selden, Rochester.

DISTRICTS.

1 George W. Curtis, New York.
Robert L. Meeks, Jamaica. L. I.
2. James S. T. Stranahan, Brooklyn.
Henry A. Kent, Brooklyn.
3 John A. Kennedy, New York.
John A. King, Jamaica.
4 Owen W. Brennan, New York.
Robert T. Haws, New York.
5 Thomas Murphy, 50 Dey st., New York.
Charles M. Briggs, Williamsburg.
6 Joseph C. Pinckney, New York.
Marshall B. Blake, New York.
7 Daniel D. Conover, New York.
John Keyser, New York.
8 Wm. Curtis Noyes, New York.
James W. Nye, New York.
9 Edmund J. Porter, New Rochelle.
John G. Miller, Carmel, Putnam Co.
10 Amb'e S. Murray, Goshen, Orange Co.
C. V. R. Luddington, Monticello, Sullivan county.
11 Peter Crispell, Jr.
Henry Green.
12 Albert Van Kleeck, Poughkeepsie, Dutchess county.
John T. Hogeboom, Ghent.
13 Jonathan W. Freeman.
Gideon Reynolds, Troy.
14 H. H. Van Dyck, Albany.
Henry A. Brigham, West Troy.
15 Edward Dodd, Argyle, Washington Co.
Jas. W. Schenck, Glensfalls, Warren Co.
16 Orlando Kellogg.
Wm. Hedding.
17 John H. Wooster, Newport, Herk. Co.
A. B James, Ogdensburgh.
18 Henry Churchill, Gloversville, Fult Co.
Thomas R. Horton, Fultonville, Montgomery Co.
19 Horato N. Buckley, Delhi, Del. Co.
Samuel J. Cooke.
20 Palmer V. Kellogg, Utica.
Henry H. Fish, Utica.
21 Giles W. Hotchkiss, Binghamton.
Benj. S. Rexford, Norwich.
22 Samuel F. Case, Fulton, Oswego Co.
Robt. Stewart, Chittenango, Mad. Co.
23 Isaac H. Fiske, Watertown, Jeff. Co.
Hiram Porter, Louisville, Lewis Co.
24 Vivus W. Smith Syracuse.
D. C. Greenfield, Baldwinsville.
25 Alex. B. Williams, Lyons.
Theodore M. Pomeroy, Auburn.
26 Obadiah B. Latham, Seneca Falls.
Chas. C. Shepard, Penn Yan, Yates Co.
27 Wm. W. Shepard, Waverly, Tioga Co.
Geo. W. Schuyler, Ithaca, Tompkins Co.
28 Wm. Scott, Geneseo, Livingston Co.
Stephen T. Hayt, Corning, Steuben Co.
29 D. D. S. Browne, Rochester.
Alexander Babcock, Rochester.
30 Joshua H. Darling, Warsaw, Wyo. Co.
John H. Kimberly, Batavia.
31 Wm. Keep, Lockport.
Noah Davis, Jr., Albion.
32 Alexander W. Harvey, Buffalo.
Joseph Candee, Buffalo.
33 Alonzo Kent, Ellicottville.
Delos E. Sill, Ellicottville.

NEW JERSEY—SEVEN VOTES.

AT LARGE.

James T. Sherman, Trenton.
Thomas H. Dudley, Camden.
Edward Y. Rogers, Rahway.
Ephriam Marsh, Jersey City.
F. T. Frelinghuysen, Newark.
Jonathan Cook, Trenton.
Dudley S. Gregory, Jersey City.
John I. Blair, Blairtown.

DISTRICTS.

1 Providence Ludlam, Bridgeton.
Robert K. Mattock, Woodbury.
Edward Brattle, Camden.
Jonathan B. Ingham, Salem.
2 Archibald R. Pharo, Tuckerton.
Stephen B. Smith, Pennington.
Amzi C. McLean, Freehold.
Bernard Connolly, Freehold.
3 A. P. Bethonde, Washington, War. Co.
A. N. Voorhees, Clinton.
Wm. D. Waterman, Janesville.
Moses F. Webb, New Brunswick.
4 Henry M. Low, Paterson.
Wm. G. Lathrop, Boonton.
Thomas Cumming, Hackensack.
Henry B. Crosby, Paterson.
5 Hugh H. Bowne, Rahway.
H. N. Congar, Newark.
Marcus L. Ward, Newark.
Denning Duer, Weehawken.

PENNSYLVANIA—TWENTY-SEVEN VOTES.

AT LARGE.

David Wilmot, Towanda.
Samuel A. Purviance, Pittsburgh.
Thaddeus Stevens, Lancaster.
John H. Ewing, Washington.

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Henry D Moore. Philadelphia.
Andrew H. Reeder, Easton.
Titian J. Coffee, Pittsburg.
Morrow B. Lowry, Erie.

DISTRICTS.

1 John M. Butler, Philadelpha.
Ellis Ward, Philadelphia.
J. Money, Philadelphia.
Wm. Elliott, Philadelphia.
2 Geo. A. Coffee, Philadelphia.
Richard Ellis, Philadelphia.
Francis Blackburn, Philadelphia.
John M. Pomroy, Philadelphia.
3 Wm. B. Mann, Philadelphia.
James McManus, Philadelphia.
Benj. H. Brown, Philadelphia.
George Read, Philadelphia.
4 A. C. Roberts, Philadelphia.
Wm. H. Kern, Philadelphia.
Wm. D. Kelly, Philadelphia.
M. S. Buckley, Richmond
5 James Hooven, Norristown.
Dr. C. M. Jackson, Philadelphia.
William B. Thomas, Philadelphia.
George W. Pumroy, Philadelphia.
6 John M. Broomal, Chester.
Washington Townsend, West Chester.
Joseph J. Lewis, West Chester.
Jacob S. Serrill, Darby.
7 Caleb N. Taylor, Bristol.
Joseph Young, Allen Town.
George Beisel, Allen Town.
Henry J. Saeger, Allen Town.
8 Isaac Eckert, Reading.
David E. Stout, Reading.
J. Knabb, Reading.
J. Bowman Bell, Reading.
9 O. J. Dickey, Lancaster.
C. S. Kauffman, Columbia
Samuel Schoch, Columbia.
Jos. D. Pownall, Christiana.
10 G. Dawson Coleman, Lebanon.
Levi Kline, Lebanon.
Jos. Casey, Harrisburg.
Wm. Cameron, Louisburg.
11 Robert M. Palmer, Pottsville.
Jacob G. Frick, Pottsville.
S. A. Bergstresser, Elysburg.
Wm. C. Lawson, Milton.
12 W. W. Ketchum, Wilkesbarre.
P. M. Osterhout, Junkhannock.
Frank Stewart Berwick.
Davis Alton, Carbondale.
13 Chas. Albright, Mauch Chunk.
W. H. Armstrong, Easton.
Sam. E. Dimmick, Honesdale.
14 H. W. Tracy, Standing Stone, Brad. Co.
Hon. Wm. Jessup, Montrose, Susqe. Co.
F. E. Smith, Tioga Point.
Dr. Abel Humphreys, Tioga Point.
15 Wm. Butler, Lewiston.
B. Rush Peterkin, Lockhaven.
Lindsay Mehaffey, Newberry.
G. B. Overton, Coudersport.
16 Kirk Haines, Millerstown.
W. B. Irvin, Mechanicsburg.
Alex. J. Frey.
Jacob S. Halderman, New Cumberland.
17 Wm. McClellan, Chambersburg.
D. McCaunaghy, Gettysburg.
John J. Patterson, Academin.
Francis Jordan, Bedford.
18 A. A. Barker, Ebensburg.
S. M. Green, Bailey's Forge, Huntington Co.
L. W. Hall, Altoona.
Wm. H. Koons, Sumerset.
19 W. M. Stewart, Indiana.
Darwin E. Phelps, Kittaning.
Addison Leech, Le chburg.
D. W. Shryok, Greersburg.
20 Andrew Stewart, Uniontown.
Smith Fuller, Uniontown.
Alex. Murdoch, Washington.
Wm. E. Gapen, Waynesburg.
21 Wm. H. Marsh, Pittsburg.
Col. James A. Ekin, Elizabeth.
John F. Dravo, McKeesport.
J. J. Siebeneck, Pittsburgh.
22 D. N. White, Sewickley.
Stephen H. Guyer, Alleghany City.
John N. Purvlance, Butler Co.
W. L. Graham, Butler Co.
23 L. L. McGuffin, New Castle
David Craig, New Castle.
Wm. G. Brown, Mercer.
John Allison, New Brighton.
24 Henry Souther, Ridgway.
S. P. Johnston, Warren.
James S. Meyers, Franklin.
D. C. Gillispie, Brooklyn.
25 B. B. Vincent, Erie.
Thomas J. Devore, Erie.
J. C. Hays, Meadville.
S. Newton Pettis, Meadville.

DELAWARE—THREE VOTES.

Nathaniel B. Smithers, Dover; John C. Clark, Delaware City; Benjamin C. Hopkins, Vernon; Lewis Thompson, Pleasant Hill; Joshua T. Heald, Wilmington; Alfred Short, Milford.

MARYLAND—EIGHT VOTES.

AT LARGE.

Francis P. Blair, Washington, D. C.
Wm. L. Marshall, Baltimore.

DISTRICTS.

1 James Bryan, Cambridge.
2 James Jeffery, Churchville.
Wm. P. Ewing, Elkton.
3 Francis S. Corkran, Baltimore.
James F. Wagner, Baltimore.
4 Wm. E. Coale, Baltimore.
5 Chas. Lee Armour, Frederick.
6 Montgomery Blair, Washington, D. C.
D. S. Orman, Church Creek.

VIRGINIA—FIFTEEN VOTES.

AT LARGE.

Alfred Caldwell, Wheeling.
E. M. Norton, Wheeling.
W. W. Gitt, Montg'ry Co. Court House.
J. C. Underwood, Clark Co. Court House.

DISTRICTS.

Jacob Hornbrook, Wheeling.
1 J. G. Jacob, Wellsburg.
Joseph Applegate, Wellsburg.
2 A. G. Robinson, Wheeling.
R. Crawford, Wheeling.
3 Thos. Hornbrook, Wheeling.
J. M. Pumphrey, Wheeling
4 R. H. Gray, Lynchburg.
F. D. Norton, Wheeling.

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5 John Underwood, Prince William Court House.
J. B. Brown, Alexandria.
6 W. J. Blackwood, Clark Co. Ct. House.
J. T. Freeman, Hancock Court House.
7 A. W. Campbell, Wheeling.
D. W. Roberts, Morgantown.
8 W. E. Stevens, Parkersburg.
S. M. Peterson, Parkersburg.
S. H. Woodward, Wheeling.
9 James Wilson, Wheeling.

OHIO—TWENTY-THREE VOTES.

AT LARGE.

Hon. D. K. Cartter, Cleveland.
Hon. V. B. Horton, Pomeroy, Meigs.
Hon. Thos. Spooner, Redding, Hamilt.
Hon. Conrad Broadbeck, Dayton.

DISTRICTS.

1 Benj. Eggleston, Cincinnati.
Fred Hassaureck, Cincinnati.
2 R. M. Corwine, Cincinnati.
Joseph H. Barrett, Cincinnati.
3 Wm. Beckett, Hamilton.
P. P. Lowe, Dayton.
4 G. D. Burgess, Troy.
John E. Cummings, Sidney.
5 David Taylor, Defiance.
E. Graham, Perryburg.
6 John M. Barrere, New Market.
Reeder W. Clarke, Batavia.
7 Hon. Thos. Corwin, Lebanon.
A. Hivling, Xenia.
8 W. H. West, Bellefontaine.
Levi Geiger, Urbana.
9 Earl Bill, Tiffin.
D. W. Swigart, Bucyrus.
10 J. V. Robinson, jr., Portsmouth.
Milton L. Clark, Chillicothe.
11 N. H. Van Vorhees, Athens.
A. C. Sands, Zelaski.
12 Willard Warner, Newark.
Jonathan Renick, Circleville.
13 John J. Gurley, Mt. Gilead.
P. N. Schuyler, Norwalk.
14 James Monroe, Oberlin.
G. U. Harn, Wooster.
15 Hon. Columbus Delano, Mt. Vernon.
R. K. Enos, Millersburg.
16 Daniel Applegate, Zanesville.
Caleb A. Williams, Chesterfield.
17 C. J. Albright, Cambridge.
Wm. Wallace, Martins' Ferry.
18 H. Y. Beebe, Ravenna.
Isaac Steese, Massilon.
19 Robt. F. Paine, Cleveland.
R. Hitchcock, Painesville
21 Joshua R. Giddings, Jefferson.
Milton Sutliffe, Warren.
23 Samuel Stokely, Steubenville.
D. Arter, Carrollton.

KENTUCKY—TWELVE VOTES

AT LARGE.

Geo. D. Blakely, Russellville.
A. A. Burton, Lancaster, Girard Co.
Wm. D. Gallagher, Pewee Valley.
Charles Hendley, Newport.

DISTRICTS.

1 Abner Williams, Covington.
H. G. Otis, Louisville.
2 Fred Frische, Louisville.
E. H. Harrison, McKee, Jackson Co.
3 Joseph Glazebrook, Glasgow.
Jos. W. Calvert, Bowling Green.
4 John J. Hawes, Louisville.
5 H. D. Hawes, Louisville.
Lewis N. Dembitz, Louisville.
6 Curtis Knight, Kingston.
Joseph Rawlings, White Hall, Madison Co.
7 A. H. Merriwether, Louisville.
Henry D. Hawes, Louisville.
8 H. B. Broaddus, Ashland, Boyd Co.
L. Marston, Millersburg, Madison Co.
9 Edgar Needham, Louisville.
J. S. Davis.
10 Jas. R Whittemore, Newport.
Hamilton Cummings, Covington.

INDIANA—THIRTEEN VOTES.

AT LARGE.

William T. Ott, New Albany.
Daniel D. Pratt, Logansport.
Caleb B. Smith, Indianapolis.
P. A. Hackelman, Rushville.

DISTRICTS.

1 James C. Veatch, Rockport.
C. M. Allen, Vincennes.
2 Thos. C. Slaughter, Corydon.
J. H. Butler, Salem.
3 John R. Cravens, Madison.
A. C. Vorhies, Bedford.
4 Geo. Holland, Brookville.
J. L. Yater, Versailles.
5 Miles Murphy, Newcastle.
Walter March, Muncie.
6 S. P. Oyler, Franklin.
John S. Bobbs, Indianapolis.
7 Geo. K. Steele, Rockville.
D. C. Donohue, Green Castle.
8 John Beard, Crawfordsville.
J. N. Simms, Frankfort.
9 Chas. H. Test, Mudges Station.
D. H. Hopkins, Crown Point.
10 Geo. Moon, Warsaw.
Geo. Emmerson, Angola.
11 Wm. W. Connor, Noblesville.
John M. Wallace, Marion

MICHIGAN—SIX VOTES.

AT LARGE.

Austin Blair, Jackson.
Walton W. Murphy, Jonesville.
Thos. White Ferry, Grand Haven.
J. J. St. Clair, Marquette.

DISTRICTS.

1 J. G. Peterson, Detroit.
Alex D. Crane, Dexter.
2 Jesse G. Benson, Dowagiac.
William L. Stoughton, Sturgis.
3 Francis Quinn, Niles.
Erastus Hussey, Battle Creek.
4 D. C. Buckland, Pontiac.
Michael T. C. Plessner, Saginaw City.

ILLINOIS—ELEVEN VOTES.

AT LARGE.

N. B. Judd, Chicago.
Gustavus Koerner, Belleville.
David Davis, Bloomington.
O. H. Browning, Quincy.

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DISTRICTS.

1 Jason Marsh, Rockford.
Solon Cummings, Grand de Tour.
2 George Schneider, Chicago.
Geo. T. Smith, Fulton, Whiteside Co.
3 B. C. Cook, Ottawa.
O. L. Davis, Danville.
4 Henry Grove, Peoria.
E. W. Hazard, Galesburg.
5 Wm. Ross, Pittsfield.
James S. Erwin, Mt. Sterling.
6 S. T. Logan, Springfield.
N. M. Knapp, Winchester.
7 Thos. A. Marshall, Charleston.
Wm. P. Dole, Paris.
8 F. S. Rutherford, Alton.
D. K. Green, Salem.
9 James C. Sloo, Shawneetown.
D. L. Phillips, Anna.

WISCONSIN—FIVE VOTES.

AT LARGE.

Carl Schurz, Milwaukee.
Hans Crocker, Milwaukee.
T. B. Stoddard, La Crosse.
John P. McGregor, Milwaukee.

DISTRICTS.

1 H. L. Rann, Whitewater.
C. C. Sholes, Kenosha.
2 M. S. Gibson, Hudson.
J. R. Bennett, Janesville.
3 Elisha Morrow, Green Bay.
L. F. Frisbey, West Bend, Wash. Co.

MINNESOTA—FOUR VOTES.

AT LARGE.

John W. North, Northfield.
D. A. Secombe, St. Anthony.
Stephen Miller, St. Cloud.
S. P. Jones, Rochester.

DISTRICTS.

1 A. H. Wagerner, New Ulm.
Aaron Goodrich, St. Paul.
2 John McCusick, Stillwater.
Simeon Smith, Chatfield.

IOWA—EIGHT VOTES.

AT LARGE.

Wm. Penn Clark, Iowa City.
L. C. Noble, West Union.
John A. Kasson, Des Moines.
Henry O'Connor, Muscatine.
J. F. Wilson, Fairfield.
J. W. Rankin, Keokuk.
M. L. McPherson, Wintersett
C. F. Clarkson, Metropolis.
N. J. Rusch, Davenport.
H. P. Scholte, Pella.
John Johns, Fort Dodge.

DISTRICTS.

1 Alvin Saunders, Mount Pleasant.
J. C. Walker, Fort Madison.
2 Jos. Caldwell, Ottumwa.
M. Baker, Congdon.
3 Benj. Reetor, Sidney.
Geo. A. Hawley, Leon.
4 H. M. Hoxie, Des Moines.
Jacob Rutler, Muscatine.
5 Thos. Seeley, Guthrie Centre.
C. C. Nourse, Des Moines.
6 Wm. M. Stone, Knoxville.
J. B. Grinnell, Grinnell.
7 Wm. A Warren, Bellevue.
John W. Thompson, Davenport.
8 John Shane, Vinton.
Wm. Smyth, Marion.
9 Wm. B. Allison, Dubuque.
A. F. Brown, Cedar Falls.
10 Reuben Noble, McGregor
E. G. Bowdoin, Rockford.
11 W. P. Hepburn, Marshalltown.
J. J. Brown, Eldora.

MISSOURI—NINE VOTES.

AT LARGE.

Francis P. Blair, Jr., St. Louis.
B. Gratz Brown, St. Louis.
F. Muench, Marthasville.
J. O. Sitton, Hermann.

DISTRICTS.

1 P. L. Foy, St. Louis.
C. L. Bernays, St. Louis.
2 A. Krekle, St. Charles.
A. Hammer, St. Louis.
3 N. T. Doane, Trenton.
Asa S. Jones, St. Louis.
4 H. B. Branch, St. Joseph.
G. W. H. Landon, St. Joseph.
5 Jas. B. Gardenhire, Jefferson City.
B. Bruns, Jefferson City.
6 J. K. Kidd, Linn.
J. M. Richardson, Springfield.
7 Jas. Lindsay, Ironton.
Thos. Fletcher, DeSoto.

CALIFORNIA—FOUR VOTES.

AT LARGE.

F. P. Tracy, San Francisco.
A. A. Sargent, Nevada.
D. W. Cheeseman, Orville.
J. C. Hinckley, Shasta.
Chas. Watrous, San Francisco.
Sam. Bell, Mariposa.
D. J. Staples, Staples Branch.
J. R. McDonald, Haywards.

OREGON—FIVE VOTES.

Joel Burlingame, Scio, Linn Co., Ore.
Horace Greeley, New York City.
Henry Buckingham, Salem, Oregon
Eli Thayer, House Rep's, Wash., D. C.
Frank Johnson, Oregon City.

TEXAS—SIX VOTES.

AT LARGE.

D. C. Henderson, Austin.
G. A. Fitch, Austin.
James P. Scott, San Antonio.
H. A. Shaw, Little Elm, Denton Co.

DISTRICTS.

1 Gilbert Moyers, Galveston.
2 M. S. C. Chandler, Galvetson.

KANSAS.

A. C. Wilder, Leavenworth.
John A. Martin, Atchison.
Wm. A. Phillips, Lawrence.
W. W. Ross, Topeka.
A. G. Proctor, Emporia.
John P. Hatterschledt, Leavenworth.

NEBRASKA—SIX VOTES.

O. W. Irish, Nebraska City.
S. W. Elbert, Plattsmouth.
E. D. Webster, Omaha.
John R. Meredith, Omaha.
A. S. Paddock, Fort Calhoun.
P. W. Witchcock, Omaha.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

1 Geo. Harrington, Washington.
Joseph Gerhardt, Washington.
G. A. Hall, Washington.
J. A. Wyse, Washington.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION

HELD IN

BALTIMORE, MD., June 7th and 8th, 1864.

TUESDAY, June 7th, 1864.

The National Union Convention to nominate candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, met this morning in the Front Street Theatre, Baltimore, Md., in response to the following call:

UNION NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The undersigned, who by original appointment, or subsequent designation to fill vacancies, constitute the Executive Committee created by the National Convention held at Chicago, on the 16th day of May, 1860, do hereby call upon all qualified voters who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing rebellion, with the cause thereof, by vigorous war, and all apt and efficient means, to send delegates to a Convention to assemble at Baltimore, on Tuesday, the 7th day of June, 1864, at 12 o'clock noon, for the purpose of presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. Each State having a representation in Congress will be entitled to as many delegates as shall be equal to twice the number of electors to which such State is entitled in the Electoral College of the United States.

EDWIN D MORGAN, New York, Chairman.
CHARLES J. GILMAN, Maine.
E. H. ROLLINS, New Hampshire.
L. BRAINERD, Vermont.
J. Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts.
THOMAS G. TURNER, Rhode Island.
GIDEON WELLES, Connecticut.
DENNING DUER, New Jersey.
EDWARD MCPHERSON, Pennsylvania.
N. B. SMITHERS, Delaware.
J. F. WAGNER, Maryland.
THOMAS SPOONER, Ohio.
H. S. LANE, Indiana.
SAMUEL L. CASEY, Kentucky.
E. PECK, Illinois.
HERBERT M. HOXIE, Iowa.
AUSTIN BLAIR, Michigan.
CARL SCHURZ, Wisconsin.
W. D. WASHBURN, Minnesota.
CORNELIUS COLE, California.
WM. A. PHILLIPS, Kansas.
O. H. IRISH, Nebraska.
JOS. GERHARDT, District of Columbia.

Washington, February 22, 1864.

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A splended band, from Fort McHenry, animated the crowded theatre with national airs, and the assemblage was graced by the presence of many ladies, who were accommodated in one of the tiers of boxes. Major-Gen. Lew. Wallace, who is in command of the Department, and Staff, the Hon. John Lee Chapman, Mayor of the city, the first and second branches of the City Council, officers of the Army and Navy, and many other distinguished invited guests were spectators of the proceedings. The delegates and alternates were afforded facility of entrance by a side door, and the arrangements for their accommodation and for the officers of the Convention reflect credit on those gentlemen to whom that duty had been entrusted. The local press give especial credit to Messrs. Wilmot, Meyer and Foreman, of the City Council Committee, and Mr. Samuel M. Evans, the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Convention. The newspaper press was numerously represented and suitably accommodated.

The President's desk was placed on an elevated platform on the stage, which had been enlarged to the extent of the parquette, which was boarded over, thus giving ample room for all the members in the discharge of their duties.

The Hon. Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, Chairman of the National Union Executive Committee, called the Convention to order at the prescribed hour, and spoke as follows:

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION—It is a little more than eight years since it was resolved to form a national party to be conducted upon the principles and policy which had been established and maintained by those illustrious statesmen, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. A Convention was held in Philadelphia, under the shade of the trees that surrounded the Hall of Independence, and candidates—Fremont and Dayton—were chosen to uphold our cause. But the State of Pennsylvania gave its electoral vote to James Buchanan, and the election of 1856 was lost.

Nothing daunted by defeat, it was immediately determined "to fight on this line," not only "all summer," [applause,] but four summers and four winters; and in 1860 the party banner was again unfurled, with the names of Abraham Lincoln [applause] and Hannibal Hamlin inscribed thereon. This time it was successful, but with success came rebellion; and with rebellion of course came war; and war, terrible civil war, has continued with varying success up to nearly the period when it is necessary, under our Constitution, to prepare for another Presidential election. It is for this highly responsible purpose that you are to-day assembled. It is not my duty nor my purpose to indicate any general course of action for this Convention; but I trust I may be permitted to say that, in view of the dread realities of the past, and of what is passing at this moment—and of the fact that the bones of our soldiers lie bleaching in every State of this Union, and with the knowledge of the further fact that this has all been caused by slavery, the party of which you, gentlemen, are the delegated and honored representatives, will fall short of accom-

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plishing its great mission, unless, among its other resolves, it shall declare for such an amendment of the Constitution as will positively prohibit African slavery in the United States. [Prolonged applause, followed by three cheers.]

In behalf of the National Committee, I now propose for temporary President of this Convention, Robert J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky [applause], and appoint Governor Randall, of Wisconsin, and Governor King, of New York, as a committee to conduct the President *pro tem.* to the chair.

The nomination was enthusiastically concurred in.

Dr. Breckinridge having taken the chair, amidst enthusiastic greetings, three cheers were given for the "Old War Horse of Kentucky," and he spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—You cannot be more sensible than I am, that the part which I have to perform here to-day is merely a matter of form; and acting upon the principle of my whole life, I was inclined, when the suggestion was made to me from various quarters, that it was in the mind of many members of the Convention to confer this distinction upon me, to earnestly decline to accept: because I have never sought honors—I have never sought distinction. I have been a working man; and nothing else. But certain considerations led me to change my mind. [Applause.]

There is a class of men in the country, far too small for the good of the country—those men who merely by their example, by their pen, by their voice, try to do good—and all the more in perilous times—without regard to the reward that may come. It was given to many such men to understand, by the distinction conferred upon one of the humblest of their class, that they were men whom the country would cherish, and who would not be forgotten.

There is another motive relative to yourselves and to the country at large. It is good for you, it is good for every nation and every people, every State and every party, to cherish all generous impulses, to follow all noble instincts; and there are none more noble, none more generous than to purge yourselves of all self-seekers and betrayers, and to confer official distinctions, if it be only in mere forms, upon those who are worthy to be trusted, and ask nothing more. [Applause.]

Now, according to my convictions of propriety, having said this, I should say nothing more. [Cries of "go on."] But it has been intimated to me from many quarters, and in a way which I cannot disregard, that I should disappoint the wishes of my friends, and perhaps the just expectations of the Convention, if I did not as briefly, and yet as precisely as I could, say somewhat upon the great matters which have brought us here. Therefore, in a very few words, and as plainly as I can, I will endeavor to draw your attention to one and another of these great matters in which we are all engaged.

In the first place, nothing can be more plain than the fact that you are here as the representatives of a great nation—voluntary representatives chosen without forms of law, but as really representing the feelings, the principles, and if you choose, the prejudices of the American people, as if it were written in laws and already passed by votes—for the man that you will nominate here

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for the Presidency of the United States, and ruler of a great people in a great crisis, is just as certain, I suppose, to become that ruler as anything under heaven is certain before it is done. [Prolonged cheering.] And,moreover, you will allow me to say,though perhaps it is hardly strictly proper that I should—but as far as I know your opinions, I suppose it is just as certain as now, before you utter it, whose name you will utter, and which will be responded to from one end to the other of this nation, as it will be after it has been uttered and recorded by your Secretary. Does any man doubt that this Convention intends to say that Abraham Lincoln shall be the nominee? [Great applause.] What I wish, however, to call your attention to, is the grandeur of the mission upon which you are met, and therefore the dignity and solemnity, earnestness and conscientiousness with which, representing one of the greatest, and certainly one of the first peoples of the world, you ought to discharge these duties. [Applause.]

Now, besides the nomination of President and Vice-President, in regard to which second office I will say nothing, because I know there is more or less difference of opinion among you; but, besides these nominations, you have other most solemn duties to perform. You have to organize this party thoroughly throughout the United states. You have to put it in whatever form your wisdom will suggest that will unite all your wisdom, energy and determination to gain the victory which I have already said was in our power. More than that, you have to lay down with clearness and precision the principles on which you intend to carry on this great political contest, and prosecute the war which is underneath them, and the glory of the country which lies before us if we succeed,—plainly, not in a double sense—briefly, not in a treatise, with the dignity and precision of a great people to utter, by its representatives, the political principles by which they intend to live, and for the sake of which they are willing to die. So that all men, everywhere, may understand precisely what we mean, and lay that furrow so deeply and clearly, that while every man who is worthy to associate with freemen may see it and pass over it, every man who is unworthy, may be unable either to pass it, or may be driven far from us. We want none but those who are like us to be with us. [Applause.]

Now, among these principles, if you will allow me to say it, the first and most distinct is, that we do not intend to permit this nation to be destroyed. [Applause.] We are a nation—no doubt a peculiar one—a nation formed of States, and no nation except as these States form it. And these States are no States except as they are States in that nation. They had no more right to repudiate the nation than the nation had to repudiate them. None of them had even the shadow of a right to do this, and, God helping us, we will vindicate that truth so that it shall never be disputed any more in this world. [Applause.] It is a fearful alternative that is set before us, but there are great compensations for it. Those of you who have attended to this subject know, or ought to know, that from the foundation of the present Government, before and since our present Constitution was formed,there have always been parties that had no faith in our Government. The men that formed it were doubtful of its success, and the men that opposed its formation did not desire its success. And I am bold to say, without detaining you on this subject, that, with all the outcry about our violations of the Constitution, this present living gen-

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eration and this present Union party are more thoroughly devoted to that Constitution than any generation that has ever lived under it. [Applause.] While I say that, and solemnly believe it, and believe it is capable of the strongest proof, I may also add that it is a great error which is being propagated in our land, to say that our national life depends merely upon the sustaining of that Constitution. Our fathers made it, and we love it. But if it suits us to change it, we can do so. [Applause.] And when it suits us to change it, we will change it. [Applause.] If it were torn into ten thousand pieces, the nation would be as much a nation as it was before the Constitution was made—a nation always, that declared its independence as a united people, and lived as a united people until now—a nation independent of all particular institutions under which they lived, and capable of modeling them precisely as their interests require. We ought to have it distinctly understood by friends and enemies, that while we love that instrument we will maintain it, and will, with undoubted certainty, put to death friend or foe who undertakes to trample it under foot; yet, beyond a doubt, we will reserve the right to alter it to suit ourselves from time to time and from generation to generation. [Applause.] One more idea on that subject. We have incorporated in that instrument the right of revolution, which gives us, without a doubt, the right to change it. It never existed before the American States, and, by the right to change, there is no need of rebellion, insurrection or civil war, except upon a denial of the fundamental principles of all free governments—that the major part must rule; and there is no other method of carrying on society, except that the will of the majority shall be the will of the whole—or that the will of the minority shall be the will of the whole. So that, in one word, to deny the principles I have tried to state, is to make a dogmatic assertion that the only form of government that is possible with perfect liberty and acknowledged by God is a pure and absolute despotism. The principles, therefore, which I am trying to state before you are principles which, if they be not true, freedom is impossible, and no government but one of pure force can exist or ought to endure among men. But the idea which I wished to carry out, as the remedy for these troubles and sorrows, is this: Dreadful as they are, this fearful truth runs through the whole history of mankind, that, whatever else may be done to give stability to authority, whatever else may be done to give perpetuity to institutions—however wise, however glorious, practicable and just may be the philosophy of it—it has been found that the only enduring, the only imperishable cement of all free institutions, has been the blood of traitors. No government has ever been built upon imperishable foundations which foundations were not laid in the blood of traitors. It is a fearful truth, but we may as well avow it at once; and every blow you strike, and every rebel you kill, every battle you win, dreadful as it is to do it, you are adding, it may be, a year—it may be ten years—it may be a century—it may be ten centuries to the life of the Government and the freedom of your children. [Great applause.]

Now, passing over that idea—passing over many other things which it would be right for me to say, did the time serve, and were this the occasion,—let me add, you are a Union party. [Applause.] Your origin has been referred to as having occurred eight years ago. In one sense it is true. But you are far older

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than that. I see before me not only primitive Republicans and primitive Abolitionists, but I see also primitive Democrats and primitive Whigs—primitive Americans, and, if you will allow me to say so, I myself am here, who all my life have been in a party to myself. [Laughter and applause.] As a Union party I will follow you to the ends of the earth, and to the gates of death. [Applause.] But as an Abolition party—as a Republican party—as a Whig party—as a Democratic party—as an American party, I will not follow you one foot. [Applause.] But it is true of the mass of the American people, however you may divide and scatter, while this war lasts, while the country is in peril, while you call yourselves as you do in the call of the Convention, the Union party—you are for the preservation of the Union and the destruction of this rebellion, root and branch. And, in my judgment, one of the greatest errors that has been committed by our administration of the Federal Government—the Chief of which we are about to nominate for another term of office—one of its errors has been to believe that we have succeeded where we have not succeeded, and to act in a manner which is precisely as if we had succeeded. You will not, you cannot, succeed until you have utterly broken up the military power of these people. [Applause.]

I will not detain you upon these incidental points, one of which has been made prominent in the remarks of the excellent Chairman of the National Committee. I do not know that I would be willing to go so far as probably he would. But I cordially agree with him in this—I think, considering what has been done about slavery, taking the thing as it now stands, overlooking altogether either in the way of condemnation or in the way of approval, any act that has brought us to the point where we are, but believing in my conscience and with all my heart, that what has brought us where we are in the matter of slavery is the original sin and folly of treason and secession, because you remember that the Chicago Convention itself was understood to say, and I believe it virtually did explicitly say, that they would not touch slavery in the states,—leaving it, therefore, altogether out of the question how we came where we are, on that particular point, we are prepared to go further than the original Republicans themselves were prepared to go. We are prepared to demand not only that the whole territory of the United States shall not be made slave, but that the general government of the American people shall do one of two things—and it appears to me that there is nothing else that can be done—either to use the whole power of the Government, both the war power and the peace power, to put slavery as nearly as possible back where it was—for, although that would be a fearful state of society, it is better than anarchy; or else to use the whole power of the Government, both of war and peace, and all the practical power that the people of the United States will give them, to exterminate and extinguish slavery. [Prolonged applause.]

I have no hesitation in saying, for myself, that if I were a pro-slavery man, if I believed this institution was an ordinance of God, and was given to man, I would unhesitatingly join those who demand that the Government should be put back where it was. But I am not a pro-slavery man—I never was. I unite myself with those who believe it is contrary to the highest interests of all men and of all Government, contrary to the spirit of the Christian religion, and incompatible with the natural rights of man.

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I join myself with those who say, away with it forever, [applause]; and I fervently pray God that the day may come when throughout the whole land every man may be as free as you are, and as capable of enjoying regulated liberty. [Prolonged applause.]

I will not detain you any longer. One single word you will allow me to say in behalf of the state from which I come, one of the smallest of the thousands of Israel. We know very well that our eleven votes are of no consequence in the Presidential election. We know very well that in our present unhappy condition, it is by no means certain that we are here to-day representing the party that will cast the majority of the votes in that unhappy state. I know very well that the sentiments which I am uttering will cause me great odium in the state in which I was born, which I love, where the bones of two generations of my ancestors and some of my children are, and where, very soon, I shall lay my own. I know very well that my colleagues will incur odium if they indorse what I say, and they, too, know it. But we have put our faces toward the way in which we intend to go, and we will go in it to the end. If we are to perish, we will perish in that way. All I have to say to you is, help us if you can; if you cannot, believe in your hearts that we have died like men.

TEMPORARY SECRETARIES.

Mr. N. B. Smithers, of Delaware. Mr. President: In order to perfect the temporary organization, I move that the following gentlemen be appointed temporary secretaries, viz.: George A. Shaw, of Massachusetts; R. H. Duell, of New York; Rev. M. C. Briggs, of California.

The question being put, the motion was agreed to.

PRAYER.

THE CHAIRMAN.—It has been usual on such occasions, gentlemen, and it is most proper in itself, to have the blessing of God, in whom is all our hope, invoked, at this stage of the proceedings, upon our conduct, and the result of it. The Chairman of the National Committee will now introduce to you, therefore, the Rev. McKendree Reiley, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who will lead us at the Throne of Grace.

Mr. Reiley made a prayer in the following language:

Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name. As taught by Thy Son Jesus Christ, we recognize the filial relation in which we stand to-day; and approach Thee as children approaching their parent; and yet, at the same time, we recognize the fact that Thou art the Infinite God, the Governor of Worlds, the King of Kings, and the Lord of Lords. We appear before Thee to let Thy blessing rest upon these Thy servants, who have here met together as directed by the people, to ascertain and to give to them for their suffrages proper persons to take the positions and perform the duties of President and Vice-President of the United States. We thank Thy holy name for this Convention, for the healthy indication it gives of the fact that we still have a government. Notwithstanding our nationality has been assailed,

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even in the home of its professed friends; notwithstanding plans of treason have been concocted with great ingenuity, and long matured; notwithstanding the noble fabric built by our fathers, under Thy guidance, has been assailed by armed bands, exceedingly numerous, well equipped, and well marshaled, we praise Thy name that, after three years of turmoil, of war, of bloodshed, and of commotion, there is still the fact before us, unanswerable, that we have a government. We praise Thy name that, notwithstanding the sympathies of the world, of the other nations of the earth, have been for the most part against us—the sympathies at least of those high in power—we still demonstrate to them the fact that we have a government. We thank Thee that it holds its sessions in the State of Maryland, upon whose original soil stands the capital of the United States, but which, a short period ago, seemed so near the vortex of secession. We praise Thy name that this Convention holds its sessions in the city of Baltimore, from whose breezes, but a short time ago, early in the present struggle, the banner of our common country was exiled. We thank Thee that that banner floats in triumph over our State and over our city; and we thank Thee that the Convention which, composed of the representatives of the people, is to indicate the next President and Vice-President of the United States, holds its session here. We pray Thee to grant to these Thy servants wisdom, that they may conduct their plans all in the fear of God, and for the promotion of the best purposes. May they select the right men to take the responsible positions that are now so interesting to us; and grant when they have selected the men as candidates for those positions, that the people may come up and roll in an overwhelming majority that shall forever settle the question that the authority of the United States Government is the supreme law of the land. We pray Thee to let thy blessing rest upon the President of the United States, upon the members of his Cabinet, and upon our Congressmen, and upon all who are in authority. Wilt thou give to them the wisdom that they now eminently need; and we pray Thee to let Thy blessing rest upon our country, once so highly favored, but now so war-stirred, whose soil is now so blood-stained. Oh, do Thou lift this curtain of darkness on which we behold the angry traces of Thy wrath, and may the sun of peace early shine forth upon a united and happy nation. We pray Thee to bless our soldiers in the field and sailors on the ocean, and give them great success in their enterprises. May victory perch upon their banner, and may we, as a nation, come forth from this war purified, and testify in a sense such as we have never testified before to the nations of the earth in favor of human freedom. Grant, we beseech Thee, that when we shall pass through this ordeal, it shall be, while the fires of the furnace have not left their smell upon our garments, they have melted off the chain of the last slave. All of which we ask in Christ's name. Amen.

ORGANIZATION.

The CHAIRMAN—What is the further pleasure of the Convention with regard to the earliest possible permanent organization? Divers committees, I find, were appointed at the last Convention, the proceedings of which I have before me. I think the next business which was transacted four years ago, was the calling of the

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States for the purpose of selecting a Committee to report officers for the Convention. Is it the will of the meeting that the States should be now called for that purpose?

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I move that the list of the States be called, and that some member of the delegation from each State furnish the Secretary with a list of its delegates.

The motion, being seconded, was put and carried.

The CHAIRMAN—In what order shall the list be called?

Mr. Cameron, the Secretary has a printed list of the States, and he had better call them according to his roll. When the States are called, some delegate from each State can furnish the Secretary with a list of the names of the delegates from his State.

The CHAIRMAN—The Secretary will please proceed to call the list in the order mentioned.

The SECRETARY—The first State on the list is Maine.

Mr. Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, I beg to suggest that there is a misapprehension in regard to the motion just adopted. I think, perhaps, it will be impracticable to carry it into execution.

The CHAIRMAN—It is not in order to discuss it now. It has already been adopted.

Mr. Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, I rise to obviate the difficulty by a motion which I shall submit, if the Chair will entertain it. I move to reconsider the vote by which the list of delegates was directed to be called for, with a view of submitting a motion to raise a Committee to receive the credentials and report a list of delegates.

The CHAIRMAN—That motion is in order.

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, with great deference to the gentleman from Maine, I think he could not have understood my motion correctly, or he would not object to it. My motion was that the roll of States should be called over, and that, as each State was called, some gentleman of the delegation should present such a list of delegates as has been made out by the delegation. After that, of course, a Committee will be formed from all the States for the purpose of investigating those rolls, seeing if there are any contested seats, and deciding between the contestants; or, if there be none contested, the list will come back in full. That will save a great deal of time, and there can be no difficulty in carrying it out. I trust there will be no reconsideration.

Mr. L. M. Morrill, of Maine, I perceive that between the gentleman from Pennsylvania and myself there is no difference as to the object to be attained. But, in a body where the delegates are unknown, where, possibly, some of the seats are contested, it seems to me utterly impracticable, at this time, to present a list of the delegates from the several states; and my purpose is, if this vote shall be reconsidered, to propose that the roll of the

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states be called, and that each delegation be requested to propose one name from its delegation, to constitute a Committee on Credentials, to whom the credentials of the delegates from the several states shall be referred.

Mr. Thompson Campbell, of California, I think the course suggested by the gentleman from Pennsylvania is the course ordinarily pursued in such conventions, and I see no difficulty in it. When the State of Maine is called, I apprehend the delegation from that state will be prepared to present their credentials. There are no self-constituted delegates in this Convention. They all come by authority, as representatives of the constituencies which have elected them. I apprehend, therefore, there will be no difficulty in carrying out the motion already adopted, and it is the best and speediest course of ascertaining who are the members of this Convention.

The Chairman put the question on the motion to reconsider, and decided that it was agreed to, and that the question recurred on the original motion of Mr. Cameron.

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Now, Mr. President, I submit another motion. I move that a committee, composed of one delegate from each state, be appointed, for the purpose of receiving a list of the delegates, and deciding who are entitled to be present.

THE CHAIRMAN—Does the gentleman offer that as a substitute for the other motion?

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, yes, sir.

Mr. James H. Lane, of Kansas, is that to apply only to states where there is no contest?

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, no; I mean that it shall embrace all.

Mr. George W. Patterson, of New York, I think it is the most simple thing in the world, when a state is called, for the chairman of the delegation from that state to rise in his place and send to the Chair a list of the delegates from that state. I cannot but think that some delegate from the State of Maine has a list of all the delegates from that state, and if he has, he can send it to the Chair. [Order.]

The CHAIRMAN—Allow me to remind the gentleman that the house have not only reconsidered the question to which he is speaking, but are considering another motion which has been substituted for it by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. G. W. Patterson, of New York, I move to amend that motion by inserting in place of it the original motion that was made, that the delegation from each state, as the states are called, furnish to the Chair a list of the members from that state. The State of New York, I believe, has about as many delegates as the State of

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Maine, and the chairman of our delegation will be able, when the State of New York is called, to present a full list of the delegates from that state. Now, sir, I move you that, as the states are called, one delegate from each state furnish to the Chair a list of the members from that state.

M. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, to save time, I accept the proposition to amend.

Mr. A. Brandagee, of Connecticut, I have an objection, for two reasons, to the proposed amendment of the gentleman from New York. In the first place, it is not an amendment at all; in the next place it is not germane to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania; it is a substitute for it, and therefore not in order. I insist upon the original motion being put.

Mr. G. W. Patterson, of New York, the gentleman from Pennsylvania has withdrawn his motion, and the question now is on mine.

The CHAIRMAN—The chair will state the position of the case as he understands it. The House passed the resolution offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and then reconsidered it. The effect of the reconsideration was, to leave the motion that was originally passed standing upon its passage. Thereupon the mover of the resolution, nobody objecting, offered a substiute for it. Whether or not the substitute and the original motion were so different that the substitute could not properly be received, as has been suggested, I shall not now undertake to say; but, under the circumstances, I decide that it was properly presented. I have doubts, however, whether, after that has been done, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, or anybody in his place, can offer again the original resolution for which he accepted the substitute as an amendment to it; seeing, in fact, that it is not an amendment but a totally different thing. There is the embarrasment that I am in.

Mr. Henry J. Raymond, of New York, I desire, Mr. Chairman, simply to make a suggestion for the consideration of the Convention which may possibly facilitate business. We are here now simply as a mass meeting. We have appointed a temporary Chairman for the purpose of organizing that mass meeting, and converting it into a convention of delegates. The first thing, therefore, to be done is to decide what states have sent delegates here; the next thing to be decided is what delegates they have sent; and the third thing to be decided is by what authority do those delegates come from those states, and appear here as their representatives. It seems to me that is the natural order in which we are to make ourselves a convention instead of a mass meeting. Now, as I understand it, the motion submitted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania is, that we appoint a Committee on Creden-

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tials. Well, sir, in the first place, we have no credentials before this body, and in the next place, we have no delegates officially known to this body, from whom to make up that committee. The first thing to be done, it strikes me, is to call the list of states belonging to this Union, and, as each state is called, if there is any one here present who can say for that state that she has a delegation here, it is his business to rise and say so, and to present to the Chair the credentials on which that delegation claims seats. If there are contesting delegations from any state, I take it for granted that it is the duty of some one from that state to present the list of both claimants. Then when that has been done, a committee can be appointed to examine the credentials thus handed in.

Mr. S. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, allow me to say to the gentleman from New York, that my original resolution was precisely what he is now advocating, but there were objections to it, and I withdrew it for the purpose of saving time. I offered my first resolution because I thought it was the quickest way of bringing the mass meeting, as the gentleman has called it, into a convention; and I intended to follow it up by offering another resolution, that a Committee on Credentials be appointed, of one from each state represented here, and let that committee examine the papers presented under the first resolution, and determine who are entitled to seats. It could have been settled in a few minutes if my honorable friend from Maine had let it go; the effect of his motion to reconsider has been to waste more time already than would have been occupied in organizing the Convention.

Mr. H. J. Raymond, of New York, I suppose the only difficulty has arisen from the fact that, owing to the somewhat feeble voice of the gentleman who made these motions, their exact tenor was not fully understood by the whole body of the Convention. If, now, the gentlemon from Pennsylvania will renew his motion, I have no doubt, with the explanation he has made, it will be promptly acceded to; if not, I will make it myself.

Mr. S. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, that motion is now before the House.

Mr. H. J. Raymond, of New York, that motion, as I understand it, is that the Secretary of this meeting call the list of states, and that, as the name of each state is called, some one on behalf of that state shall respond to it, and present the list of delegates claiming seats from that state, together with their credentials.

Mr. S. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I have those of Pennsylvania in my hand now, ready to present.

The CHAIRMAN—The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, as it has been just stated.

The motion was agreed to.

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Mr. Shaw, the Secretary, proceeded to call the roll of states, and lists of delegates were handed in from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, California, Oregon, West Virginia, and Kansas.

From Missouri two lists of delegates were presented, one elected by the Radical Union Convention, and the other by the Unconditional Union Party of Missouri.

CONTESTED SEATS.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I move that all contested cases be laid over, and that the delegates from such states shall not be entered on the roll until the credentials shall have been sent to a Committee on Credentials and reported back.

The motion was agreed to.

The District of Columbia was also called, and it was announced that there were two sets of delegates from the district.

The CHAIRMAN—All the states embraced in the call of this Convention have been called by the Secretary. Is it the mind of the Convention that he shall stop there, or shall he call the other states?

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I move, Mr. Chairman, that if there are any representatives here from states which have not been called—and I understand that some of the states in secession claim to be represented here—they present their credentials to the Committee on Credentials when appointed, but that they be not called in this order.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I move to amend the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, by directing the Secretary to proceed with the call of the states and territories, with the understanding that the credentials which may be presented shall be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Penn., I am afraid that that will be some recognition of the right of States which now belong to the Southern Confederacy to be represented here, and, of course, to be represented in the Electoral College. I think we ought to march with great caution in this matter; for, although I have no doubt there are many very excellent men here from such States, yet it is a question which ought to be settled before we commit ourselves at all, whether they are entitled to be represented here or not. I may as well say at this point—though, perhaps, it has nothing to do with this question—that, in a meeting of the Union Republican members of the House of Representatives, they have unanimously declared that no such States can be represented in Congress, or ought to be represented in the Electoral College, or, in their judgment, ought to be represented here, as that would give them a right to be represented in the Electoral College. I do not want to have that question now discussed, or now decided. I have, therefore, made a motion, which I thought would leave it open for consideration, to refer it all to the Committee on Credentials, who will carefully examine the whole question, and report

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to this Convention, so that the business may not now be interrupted by what may be a protracted discussion. I hope the gentleman from Kansas will see the propriety of this proceeding being taken, as it will decide nothing, but simply place the question in a position for adjudication hereafter.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, it will be time enough to decide against the claims of Nevada, and Colorado, and Nebraska, who expect to cast electoral votes for our candidate [applause], after an examination by the Committee on Credentials. It will be time enough to decide against the free State of Arkansas, whose senators and representatives are knocking at the doors of Congress for admission, after consideration by the Committee on Credentials. It will be time enough to decide against the gallant Free-State men of Louisiana [applause], who propose to elect senators and representatives so soon as they can, under their amended Constitution, after an examination by the Committee on Credentials. These States are here with their delegates. All they ask is the poor boon of being ranked in the call with their sister States [applause.] They are willing to abide the decision of the Committee on Credentials, and the decision of this Convention. The State of Missouri has two sets of delegates here; there is a question to adjudicate, and we have received the credentials of both sets of delegates, and referred them to the Committee on Credentials for adjudication. The delegates from Arkansas. the delegates from Louisiana, the delegates from Tennessee, the dele- Nevada, Nebraska, and Colorado, have a question to be adjudicated. Send their credentials to the Committee on Credentials, as you have done in the case of the contestants from the State of Missouri. Let me add, the delegates from Nevada, Nebraska and Colorado especially, ask recognition here for the purpose of strengthening the State movement within those territories; and I hope, as a matter of policy, if not as a matter of justice, that you will permit their credentials to be received and referred to the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, I rise to say that I appear as the chairman of the delegation from the State of Tennessee, sent here by the loyal Union portion of the population of that old State, extending as they do from the mountains to the banks of the Mississippi river. I presume that, as to the mere matter of their credentials, there can be very little dispute. The question for the Convention to decide is, as I understand it, whether the State of Tennessee, by her loyal, Union, liberty-loving population [applause], shall have a position and a voice in the deliberations of this body. As a right, we are free to concede in one sense that we have not; but this, as it has been very appropriately styled by the chairman, is a voluntary representative body, not provided for either by the Constitution or the laws of our country, but growing up by established party usages for a period of almost one generation. Any body of men who chose to assemble themselves within the limits of the United States, to designate candidates for the high offices of President and Vice-President, undoubtedly have the right to do so, and have equally the right to say who shall and who shall not assemble with them. We concede that fully. We come, making no such claims. In another sense, and if I may be permitted to say, in a much larger and higher sense, they who have sent us here do claim that they have a right to be represented in this body of American citizens [ap-

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plause.] What is the assemblage? What does it purport to be? An assemblage of delegates representing that portion of the American people who are now, by their efforts in the field, and by their sustaining and co-operative efforts at home, attempting to sustain the honor and the existence of the government against the men who are in rebellious array, endeavoring to break it up and overthrow it. Assembled here under that symbol which typifies our common nationality, we, the loyal people of Tennessee, claim the right to be represented in any such assemblage, wherever upon this broad continent it may be met [applause.] You have decorated and adorned your hall most beautifully and most appropriately by that flag which is the symbol of our common nationality. Count, I beseech you, before you pronounce upon this question, the stars that emblazon it [great and continued applause]. That, sir, is our argument; that, sir, is our appeal. The sixteenth star in that constellation symbolizes the existence of Tennessee. And we intend, God helping us, and by the assistance of the loyal arms of the loyal men of our country, that that star shall never set.

I do not propose, in this preliminary period of the deliberations of the Convention, to enlarge on this topic. I rose simply for the purpose of entering, in behalf of those much-enduring, long-suffering men who sent us here, a protest that you should not pass us by, or forget or ignore our existence. Let me say that, for you that drink in the cool breezes of the Northern air, it is easy to rally to the flag to sustain the honor of your country; and, if we had not melancholy evidence to the contrary, I should say that it was impossible that any of you should do otherwise. But we represent those who have stood in the very furnace of the rebellion, those who have met treason eye to eye, and face to face, and fought from the beginning for the support of the flag and the honor of our country. [Great applause.] I will not repeat the story of that people. It has been told many times. All I have to say is that if, after the accumulated evidence that has been thrust upon the country, any man is still incredulous of the sublime, romantic patriotism of that noble people, I beg that he will return with me, and see for himself; let him put his hands into the very print of the nails, and he will have such demonstration as shall satisfy him. Sir, that people sent us here because they are interested in the great question to be decided here. They are interested with you in sustaining and upholding the common government of this country, and they have sent us here to attest, by an additional act, their devotion to our common country, and their desire to be reckoned among those who are ready to maintain, at every cost, our common honor and nationality. Their sons are dying in the field under the national flag. Their blood has scarcely even now dried upon the sand. It was spilled the other day in the defiles of Georgia, and it has marked all the mountain passes in Tennessee. From an humble beginning, at Mill Spring, to that glorious encounter above the very clouds, their blood has been shed on every field. In the name of these heroes we call upon you to receive us among the friends of the Union here assembled. [Great applause.]

Mr. Hanks, of Arkansas, on the western side of the Mississippi River is the State of Arkansas, which, although almost blotted out, has sent here a full delegation of true Union men. We have suffered for three long years; we have been trampled down be-

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neath the heel of despotism; many of our people have been carried off to captivity, but we are here to-day to present true Union men, friends of the government. Within our limits was fought the battle of Pea Ridge. [Applause.] Having passed through the fiery ordeal, we come here as representing twelve thousand loyal men of Arkansas, who have put down that disturbing element which was the source of all our woes. [Applause.] We are here; we claim to be a parcel of you; and we claim that we have yet a star in the glorious galaxy of the American Union.

Mr. L. H. Chandler, of Virginia, before this question is put, I desire to say a word in behalf of the delegation from Virginia. I wish to know the name of the last State or Territory that was called before the motion was submitted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

The SECRETARY (Mr. Shaw)—The last name called was the District of Columbia.

Mr. L. H. Chandler, of Virginia, now, I wish to know, Mr. Chairman, why the District of Columbia should be called, and the State of Virginia left out. Why, sir, the District of Columbia never can be hatched or piped into a State. [Laughter.] Act as you please, vote as you please, decide as you please here, with all respect for the District of Columbia—and I believe I am standing almost within speaking distance of her—how can she ever throw an electoral vote? But the State of Virginia has contributed 25,000 men to the Union army. [Applause.] She is this day represented in the Senate of the United States, and, but for the inscrutable dispensation of Divine Providence in the death of the lamented Bowden, would be fully represented; and she would, to-day, have three Representatives on the floor of the House of Representatives but for the fact that the Committee of Elections decided, not that she was not a State, but that the vote of the respective districts was not sufficient if scattered over the districts, or, in other words, that a sufficient number of counties in each district had not voted. Is that State to be shut out? The member from Pennsylvania who submitted that motion has himself recognized the State of Virginia as one of the States of this Union. [Applause.]

Mr. T. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, may I ask the gentleman when I ever recognized Virginia, since her Ordinance of Secession, as being in the Union? West Virginia, cut off from Virginia, I voted for admitting into the Union as an independent State, and the gentleman will do me the justice to say that I then declared that Virginia herself had no business to be considered in the Union. I was very sorry, when the gentleman was himself lately an applicant for a seat in Congress, that I was obliged to vote against him, because I believed that Virginia and all other States in Secession—although I knew some of their men were loyal, and although I know there is no better Republican than the gentleman to whose voice we have been listening with pleasure—all States which, by a regular majority of their votes, have declared themselves out of the Union, have no right to be recognized or represented in the Union. I am sure I never admitted such a doctrine as that. The applause which I have heard of the principle of such recognition has alarmed me more for the safety of this nation than all the armies of the rebels. [Applause.]

Mr. L. H. Chandler, of Virginia, I will answer the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and will tell him how and why and when he recognized the State of Virginia. He admits the fact that he

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voted in favor of making West Virginia a new State. Pray, how did he do that unless he in the first place acknowledged Virginia as a State? [Applause.] Sir, that gentleman is too well posted in regard to the Constitution not to know that no new State can be carved out of an old State save by the consent of the old State, and then Congress passes on the question; so that, when the gentleman voted in favor of making West Virginia a new State, he either recognized the State of Virginia, or he voted for a measure which he himself believed to be unconstitutional.

The CHAIRMAN—I have very great doubts whether any part of this discussion that is purely personal is in order. I doubt whether it is in order or for edification that personal questions of this sort should be introduced, not germane to the issue; and, unless the House order otherwise, I shall hold that no part of this side-discussion is in order.

Mr. L. H. Chandler, of Virginia, Sir, there was nothing personal intended. The gentleman from Pennsylvania knows very well indeed that the personal relations between us have always been of the most pleasant character. I was simply putting the question in a strong way to the Convention.

Mr. T. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, Will the gentleman allow me one word? and it is all I have to say. I did not consider the gentleman as making any reflection on me personally. I wish to explain, however, one difficulty which the gentleman is under. I presume he did not read the poor remarks which I made when West Virginia was admitted as a State of the Union. It was proposed to admit her on the ground that Old Virginia had given her consent, and that new West Virginia should come in with that consent. I expressly said that I hoped nobody would consider me so ignorant as to suppose that Virginia was divided according to the principles of the Constitution; but that West Virginia, being conquered by our armies, according to the laws of war we had a right to do with the conquered territory just as we pleased [applause]; and I voted for her admission, disclaiming the idea that the division was according to the forms of the Constitution, but under the laws of war and the laws of conquest. The gentleman did not read that, or he would not have charged me with having admitted the existence of Old Virginia in my vote in regard to West Virginia.

Mr. L. H. Chandler, of Virginia, I will remove all difficulty with regard to the question of order. I say nothing with regard to the political action of the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvavania. It is enough for me to know that the House of Representatives and Senate, at Washington, decided in favor of admitting West Virginia, and could do it upon no other ground than that she was part and parcel of the State of Virginia. It is enough for me to know that every department of the Government, legislative, executive, and judicial, the President, with every head of each department under him, has recognized and to this day recognizes Virginia as a State. The only difference between the gentleman from Pennsylvania and myself is, that whilst he wishes a remarkably large slice to be overrun by our armies before he can acknowledge that slice as a territory, I am a little more moderate, and I ask that a slice twice as large as Rhode Island, and much larger than Delaware, that has been conquered by our armies, and

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that my associates and myself here, shall have the simple boon granted of having their names called over side by side with those of the District of Columbia [laughter and applause]. It is a question of degree; the gentleman and I recognize the same principle.

Mr. A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, allow me to ask a question. Does the gentleman from Virginia contend that the delegates from Virginia being entitled to seats here, the people whom they represent would therefore be entitled to an electoral vote?

Mr. L. H. Chandler, of Virginia, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Mr. A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, Will the gentleman allow me to finish my sentence? Because it seems to me a logical conclusion that if you allow the people of Virginia to participate in the selection of a candidate for the Presidency, you must also allow them to participate in his election at the polls. How, then, you can escape the reception of the votes of the people of the city of Richmond, I cannot understand.

Mr. L. H. Chandler, of Virginia, calling our names here settles nothing. Our credentials go before the committee; when that committee shall have reported on them it will be time enough for those of us who are from Virginia to give our views to this Convention in relation to that question. All we ask now is that our names shall be called, that our credentials shall be sent before the committee; then that question and other questions will properly come up. And bear in mind, sir, that we have been very modest, we have not sent here any delegates representing the Richmond congressional district [laughter.] We have only sent two delegates here as delegates at large, for the two senators that Virginia had when the present Senate assembled in December last, and three delegates from three congressional districts in which elections were regularly held. We offer here to give only five votes. Now, I ask, when the State, as I have said, has been recognized by every department of this Government, why we ought not at least to be called in the roll of States. I do not wish to say a single word that may be considered as going towards making a speech [laughter.] Strike out all these States, if you please, let them be like the lost Pleiads, seen no more below; only give us a fair show; that is all we ask before the Convention.

The CHAIRMAN—The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, my amendment is, that all the States having delegates on this floor be called, and that the credentials handed in be referred to the Committee on Credentials; and that the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado and Nevada, who are now engaged in organizing State governments under enabling acts from the Congress of the United States, whose electoral votes will be cast for our candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, be called, and that the credentials of their representatives be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

The amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN—The Chair wishes now to state (what he forbore to state during the discussion) that the calling of the District of Columbia was an oversight, and he would have stopped it if he

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had been aware that it was on the list; and he will now give instructions to the Secretary to strike it out unless it be put in by an order of the House. He considers that it should go with the Territories, and it will not be called unless the House so orders. The Secretary will now call the roll of those who have been ordered to be called by the motion just adopted.

The roll of the remaining States being called, delegates responded from Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee, and their credentials were ordered to be referred to the Committee on Credentials. Delegates responded from Nevada, Colorado and Nebraska, and their credentials received the same reference.

The CHAIRMAN—It now remains for the House to give what order they see fit, if any, in regard to the remaining Territories, including the District of Columbia. They will not be called unless by order of the House.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I move that they be called, and I desire to state that the Chicago Convention in 1860 received the delegation from the Territory of Kansas, and permitted them to vote. I move that the remaining Territories and the District of Columbia be called, and that the credentials of the delegates be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

The motion was agreed to.

The roll was called, and delegates appeared from the District of Columbia, and the Territories of New Mexico, Washington, Dakota, Idaho, Arizona and Montana.

RULES OF ORDER.

Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, in order to facilitate the business of the body, I move that the rules of the House of Representatives of the United States be adopted for the government of the Convention so far as they may be applicable.

The motion was agreed to.

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I move now that the roll of the States as to whose delegates here there is no question be called, and that as each State is called, the delegation from that State report one member to compose the Committee on Credentials. I exclude from this motion the State of Missouri, and every State the credentials of whose delegates are to go before the Committee.

The motion was agreed to.

The roll of States was called. As each State was named, the chairman of its delegation reported the name selected for the Committee on Credentials. The Committee was thus constituted:

Maine, B. W. Norris; New Hampshire, Benjamin J. Cole; Vermont, Edwin Hammond; Massachusetts, Jas. T. Robinson; Rhode-

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Island, Henry H. Fay; Connecticut, Augustus Brandagee; New York, Preston King; New Jersey, Joseph Coult; Pennsylvania, Andrew H. Reeder; Delaware, Edward G. Bradford; Maryland, Henry H. Goldsborough; Kentucky, Samuel Lusk; Ohio, G. Volney Dorsey; Indiana, Jesse J. Brown; Illinois, J. Wilson Shaeffer; Michigan, Marsh Giddings; Wisconsin, J. B. Cassidy; Iowa, Geo. D. Wooden; Minnesota, M. G. Butler; California, John Bidwell; Oregon, Hiram Smith; West Virginia, William E. Stevenson; Kansas, M. H. Insley.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Mr. J.A. J.Creswell, of Maryland, I move that the states just called be again called, in order that one member may be designated from each state to constitute a Committee for the Permanent Organization of this body.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, and I would suggest that that permanent organization consist of one President, and one Vice-President, and one Secretary for each state.

The CHAIRMAN—Will the House adopt that suggestion or leave it to the Committee?

Several delegates—Leave it to the Committee.

Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, very well; but let states whose seats are contested name members of the committee when those contests shall be decided. ["Agreed."]

The roll of states was called, and the following delegates were named as the Committee on Permanent organization:

Maine, James Drummond; New Hampshire, Shepherd L. Bowers; Vermont, Abraham B. Gardner; Massachusetts, Gennerry Twitchell; Rhode Island, John J. Reynolds; Connecticut, Oliver H. Perry; New York, Clark B. Cochrane; New Jersey, Socrates Tuttle; Pennsylvania, Alexander K. McClure; Delaware, William Cummins; Maryland, John A. J. Creswell; West Virginia, John M. Boyd; Kentucky, John A. Prall; Ohio, Robert Sherrard, Jr.; Indiana, Jesse L. Williams; Illinois, J. Y. Scammon; Michigan, Edwin Lawrence; Wisconsin, J. M. Gillet; Iowa, Frank Street; Minnesota, Daniel Cameron; California, William S. McMurtrie; Oregon, Joseph Phailling; Kansas, Mark W. Delahay;

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. S. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I now move that the states be called over, and that one member be named by each delegation, those thus named to constitute a Committee on Platform and Resolutions.

The motion was agreed to, and the roll being called, the follow-delegates were named as the committee.

Maine, Josiah H. Drummond; New Hampshire, David Cross; Vermont, E. P. Walton; Massachusetts, Tappan Wentworth; Rhode Island; Edwin Harris; Connecticut, William T. Miner; New York, Henry J. Raymond; New Jersey, Charles R Waugh; Pennsylvania, Morrow B. Lowry; Delaware, Jacob Moore; Maryland, Hugh Lennox

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Bond; Kentucky, James Speed; Ohio, Aaron F. Perry; Indiana, William McKee Dunn; Illinois, Elisha P. Ferry; Michigan, O. D. Conger; Wisconsin, Edward Salmon; Iowa, William M. Stone; Minnesota, Warren Bristoe; California, Thompson Campbell; Oregon, Thos. H. Pearne; West Virginia, Granville D. Hall; Kansas, A. Carter Wilder.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, in the hope of saving the Committee on Resolutions some trouble, I am directed by the delegation from the State of Kansas to offer a series of resolutions, to be referred to the committee without reading; and I move that all resolutions relative to the platform be referred to that committee, without reading and without debate.

The motion was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. G. Bergner, of Pennsylvania, at three p. m. the Convention adjourned to meet at half-past seven o'clock p. m.

EVENING SESSION.

The Chairman called the Convention to order at half-past seven o'clock p. m.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. A. K. McClure, of Pennsylvania, I am directed by the Committee on Permanent Organization to report the following list of officers:

President—William Dennison, of Ohio.

Vice-Presidents—Maine, Nathan A. Farwell; New Hampshire, Onslow Stearns; Vermont, Henry Stowell; Massachusetts, Moses Kimball; Rhode Island, James De Wolf Perry; Connecticut, Henry A. Grant; New York, Lyman Tremaine; New Jersey, William A. Newell; Pennsylvania, William W. Ketchum; Delaware, George Z. Tybond; Maryland, A. C. Greene; Kentucky, J. C. Record; Ohio, David Tod; Indiana, John Beard; Illinois, James M. Brown; Michigan, Charles T. Gorham; Wisconsin, John F. Potter; Iowa, G. W. McCreary; Minnesota, Charles M. Daily; California, Robert Gardner; Oregon, Frederick Charman; West Virginia, Chester D. Hubbard; Kansas, F. W. Potter.

Secretaries—Maine, Nahum Morrill; New Hampshire, Edward Spalding; Vermont, Horace Fairbanks; Massachusetts, George A. Shaw; Rhode Island, Joel M. Spencer; Connecticut, Samuel S. Warren; New York, William R. Stewart; New Jersey, Edward Bettle; Pennsylvania, John Stewart; Delaware, Benjamin Burton; Maryland, Levi E. Straughn; Kentucky, A. G. Hodges; Ohio, J. C. Devin; Indiana, John W. Ray; Illinois, Lorenz Brentano; Michigan, Wm. L. Noyes; Wisconsin, C. C. Sholes; Iowa, G. D. Stubbs; Minnesota, Charles Taylor; California, James Otis; Oregon, J. W. Souther; West Virginia, Granville D. Hall; Kansas, W. H. H. Lawrence.

The report was adopted by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN—I appoint the Hon. Governor Lane, of Indiana, and the Hon. Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, to conduct the President to the chair.

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Mr. Dennison was conducted to the chair by Hon. Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, and Hon. Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania; and on taking the chair, addressed the Convention as follows:

I thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me, and while I shall bring to the discharge of the duties of the Chair little experience in parliamentary rules, it will be my pleasure, as my duty, to spare no effort in contributing, to the extent of my ability, to the facilitating of the business of the Convention, and securing such results from your deliberations as will meet the loyal expectations of the country.

We meet here as representatives of the true friends of the Government and of impartial liberty—of that large portion of the people who gratefully appreciate the unmatched blessings which flow from our institutions well administered, and reject any form of human enslavement, not in punishment of crime, as no less incompatible with the rights of humanity than with the genius and the peaceful workings of Republican Government. [Prolonged applause.]

In no sense do we meet as members or representatives of either of the old political parties which bound the people, or as the champions of any principle or doctrine peculiar to either. The extraordinary condition of the country since the outbreak of the rebellion has, from necessity, taken from the issues of these parties their practical significance, and compelled the formation of substantially new political organizations; hence the origin of the Union party—if party it can be called—of which this Convention is for the purpose of its assembling, the accredited representative, and the only test of membership in which is an unreserved, unconditional loyalty to the Government and the Union.

Let me congratulate you upon the favorable auspices of your meeting. While the deepest anxiety is felt by all patriotic men as to the result of the war unjustifiably forced upon the Government by the bad, ambitious men and their deceived followers in the rebellious States, and the country is filled with distress and mourning over the loss of so many of our brave men who have fallen in battle, or died in hospitals from wounds received in defence of the constitutional authorities of the Government, we yet have, in what has been accomplished towards the suppression of the rebellion and the extinguishment of its cause—in the heroic deeds of our noble armies and gallant navy—in the renewel of the patriotism of the country that almost seemed to be paralyzed under the influence of our National prosperity—in the unprecedented generosity of the people, awakened by the wants of the Government and the necessities of its defenders—much, very much of the higest felicitation, and for which the country is grateful to Almighty God. [Applause.]

And may I not add to these causes of congratulation the formation of the political organization of which this Convention is a representative, which has so nobly sustained the Government in its efforts to put down the rebellion, and to the complete accomplishment of which its energies are consecrated; the patriotic harmony that has marked our assembling and will characterize all our proceedings, and presenting that harmony which will display itself in the unanimous nomination, for the Presidency of the United States, of the wise and good man whose unselfish devotion to the country, in the administration of the Government

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has secured to him not only the admiration, but the warmest affection of every friend of constitutional liberty? [Applause.]

I need not remind you of the very grave responsibilities that devolve upon you as members of this Convention. The loyal people of the country have authorized and expect you to renew on their part the pledge of their faith to support the Government, in the most vigorous prosecution of the war, to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, regardless of the time or the resources required to that end, and they equally expect and call upon you to declare the cause and the support of the Rebellion to be slavery, which, as well for its treasonable offenses against the Government, as for its incompatibility with the rights of humanity, and the permanent peace of the country, must, with the termination of the war, and as much speedier as possible, be made to cease forever in every State and Territory of the Union. But I must not refer to other subjects of interest that will challenge your attention.

Let me repeat my thanks for your expressions of confidence in me, in having selected me to preside over your deliberations. [Applause.]

The Vice-Presidents and Secretaries took their seats on the platform.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, I observed to-day that no committee was appointed on the order of business. Such a committee is indispensable, to the end that a rule may be established as to the manner of voting and various other questions that will have to be considered. If some gentleman of the Convention will be so kind as to submit a motion for the appointment of such a committee, the Chair will take very great pleasure in submitting that motion to the Convention.

Mr. C. Delano, of Ohio, I had observed, sir, the failure of the Convention to provide a committee to report permanent rules and an order of business, and was about, before the suggestion of the Chair, to move its appointment. Now, in pursuance of that suggestion, concurring as I do in the necessity of complying with it, I move the appointment of a committee for that purpose, consisting of one from each state, to be selected in the manner that the other committees have been.

The motion was agreed to, and the committee was constituted as follows:

Maine, George K. Jewett; New Hampshire, E. L. Colby; Vermont, A. P. Hunton; Massachusetts, Charles R. Train; Rhode Island, George D. Cross; Connecticut, Calvin Day; New York, Ellis H. Roberts; New Jersey, J. T. Crowell; Pennsylvania, S. F. Wilson; Delaware, William Cummins; Maryland, Archibald Stirling, Jr.; Kentucky, H. C. Burge; Ohio, E. F. Drake; Indiana, Cyrus L. Allen; Illinois, I. A. Powell; Michigan, Charles D. Mitchell; Wisconsin, Angus Cameron; Iowa, D. W. Ellis; Minnesota, D. G. Shillock; California, O. H. Bradbury; Oregon, M. Hirsch; West Virginia, D. M. Fitzgerald; Kansas, T. M. Bowen.

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SPEECH OF REV. MR. BROWNLOW.

The President called for reports from the Committee on Credentials and the Committee on Resolutions, but no response was made.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, as it would be improper to transact business of any importance except what relates to the organization until the Committee on Credentials have reported and in order that all gentlemen who may be admitted to seats may have an opportunity of participating in our proceedings I move that this Convention adjourn until to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

Mr. G. W. Patterson, of New York, I hope the gentleman will withdraw that motion. I understand that a gentleman who has experienced some of the trials of Tennessee is in the House, and we shall be glad to hear the Rev. Mr. Brownlow. [Applause.]

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I have no desire to deprive the Convention of the pleasure of hearing so distinguished a gentleman, and I withdraw my motion.

Mr. G. W. Patterson, of New York, I move that the Rev. W. G. Brownlow be requested to address the Convention.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

The members of the Convention rose to their feet and gave three cheers for "Parson Brownlow" as he advanced to the stage.

The PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention, I have the honor of presenting to you one who has done the country much service, who has been gallant and true—Parson Brownlow, of East Tennessee. [Great applause.

Mr. Brownlow spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—I assure you you have to-night waked up the wrong passenger. I am a very sick man, and ought to be in my bed and not here. I have journeyed on, however, through great tribulation, to meet you. The last regular meal I took was on Saturday, upon a boat, and upon the Ohio river. I am sick—sick—and suffering—and I come forward because so enthusiastically called for, to make my bow to you, and my apology for not attempting to speak; but, before I take my seat, I know you will take of me kindly any suggestion I may make, or any rebuke I may attempt to administer to you. I am one of the elder brethren—one of the old apostles. [Laughter] I have heard since I came to town that you had some doubt in your minds about the propriety of admitting a delegation from Tennessee—a State in rebellion. I hope you will pause, gentlemen, before you commit so rash an act as that, and thereby recognize Secession. We don't recognize it in Tennessee. [Applause.] We deny that we are out. [Applause.] We deny that we have been out. [Applause.] We maintain that a minority first voted us out, and then a majority whipped the minority out of the State with bayonets, winning over a portion of our men to their ranks. But we are here to participate in your deliberations and toils, and

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to share your honors. I pray you not to exclude us. We have a full delegation from Tennessee, a patriotic delegation, a talented delegation, always excepting the present speaker. [Laughter.] Our best men are here. We have in Tennessee, as you have in most of the Northern States, a Copperhead party, just beginning to come into existence. They have existed here a good while. I have fought the venomous reptiles for the last two years among you; but they are beginning to organize in Tennessee, and I confidently look for them to be represented at the forthcoming Chicago Convention, to send up a delegation there under the nose and scent of that pink of patriotism, loveliness and virtue, the editor of the Chicago *Times*. [Laughter.] The delegation that our State sends up to you would scorn to go to the Chicago Convention; they would decline having anything to do with the late Cleveland Convention. [Applause.] We are for the Baltimore-Lincoln-Arming-of-Negroes Convention. We are for the Convention and the party that are resolved to put down this wicked, this infernal Rebellion, at all hazards, and all cost of money and lives; and our Convention instructed us, before we left home, to advocate and vote for Abraham Lincoln first, last and all the time. [Applause.] He has got his hand in; he has learned the hang of the ropes, and we want to try him for a second term. Let us get along in harmony. There need be no detaining this Convention for two days in discussions of various kinds, and the idea I suggest to you as an inducement not to exclude our delegation is, that we may take it into our heads, before the thing is over, to present a candidate from that State in rebellion for the second office in the gift of the people. [Applause.] We have a man down there whom it has been my good luck and bad fortune to fight untiringly and perseveringly for the last twenty-five years—Andrew Johnson. [Applause.] For the first time, in the Providence of God, three years ago we got together on the same platform, and we are fighting the devil, Tom Walker and Jeff Davis side by side. [Applause.]

I again thank you, gentlemen of the Convention—[Go on, go on.] I never refuse to speak when I am able to speak, and my old friend Deacon Bross knows it well. I should like to help him canvass Illinois, and gouge for him among the Copperheads. If I were able to speak and could interest you, I would; but I am sick, and I must be excused. I thank you for the honor you have done me.

On motion, the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, June 8, 1864.

The PRESIDENT called the Convention to order at ten o'clock A. M.

PRAYER.

The Rev. M. P. Gaddis, one of the delegation from Ohio, offered the following prayer:

Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven; grant us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; lead us not into temptation; but grant Thou Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, Thou who art the Infinite God, of all right, of all truth,

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and of all liberty, grant to imbue our hearts so with Thine own free Spirit as to lead us this morning in that way and manner that may confer honor upon Thy great name, and work out the good intended by the sovereign people of this country in thus assembling together in this National Convention. Hear us this morning, O our Father, as we thank Thee for the harmony of action and unity of purpose that has thus far attended our sittings; grant to let that harmony continue. Grant to let Thy Spirit operate upon those who have been thus honorably selected to represent the wishes of a great and free people, so that the ends and aims of this Convention may be fully subserved.

Hear us this morning, Thou God of liberty, as we thank Thee for the fact that Thou hast ever made this land the dwelling place of the genius of freedom and of liberty. Hear us as we thank Thee for the triumph that Thou didst give to the arms of our fathers as they broke the shackles of oppression and of tyranny, and erected upon these shores the light of freedom and of liberty. Hear us, our Father, as we thank Thee for the prosperity that not only attended them in that hour, but in their efforts to found here a Republic whose influence and whose power should go down to the remotest period of coming time. Hear us, our Father, as we thank Thee for the prosperity that hath attended us financially, intellectually, morally and socially, throughout the length and breadth of the United States. Hear us, O our Father, as we thank Thee this morning for the respect that the United States of America has attained throughout the known world. Wherever the white sails of her commerce have been seen, where'er the starry banner hath been unfolded at the mast-head of our vessels as they have gone forth upon all oceans and upon all seas, that flag hath been honored, our country hath been respected.

Hear us, O our Father, as we thank Thee for the many men that American genius and the genius of American institutions have developed, who have gone forth to fill the halls of science, the chambers of literature, the councils of the nation, and gone to other lands to represent not only the dignity but the power and the influence of republican liberty. Hear us, O our Father, as we thank Thee for the rapid development Thou hast given to this mere child of freedom, that she has gone on from the rock-bound shores of New England to the Western wilds, and made them to bloom and blossom as the rose, and to send the echoing shouts of liberty across from the Pacific waters to those who had ne'er known it before. Hear us, O our Father, this morning, as we bless Thee for the success that hath attended us even in the midst of distress. We repent this morning of our sins; we bow before Thy Majesty in deep contrition of heart; we admit Thy judgments; but we bless Thee, our Father, that in our efforts to demonstrate that we were upon Thy side, Thou hast thus far crowned us with success. Let this success continue, and, to that end, bless the President of these United States and all his constitutional advisers; may they be men of clean hands and of pure hearts; may they consult with the Infinite Good. Let Thy blessing rest upon all the plans and operations that they have devised for the success of our arms.

Bless our army and our navy, from the Commanders and Commodores down to the noble men that fill our ranks and tread the decks of our gallant vessels; and God grant that even in the midst

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of their present battles, while thundering at the gates of the rebel capital, to give them abundant success. And may the time soon come, our Father, when America shall be free, when the Rebellion shall be crushed, and when peace with its ten thousand hallowing blessings shall again reign from ocean to ocean and lake to gulf. Hasten the hour when the East shall embrace the West, when the North shall again kiss the South, and America become indeed that nation whose God is the Lord.

Guide us and direct us in the operations of this day, in all the deliberations of this Convention; and, O God, if we are right, grant that the nominees of this National Union Convention may be elected by such a majority as has never before been recorded in the history of our government. And Thy great name, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, shall have ceaseless and everlasting praises through a world without end. Amen.

CHAIRMEN OF DELEGATIONS.

The PRESIDENT—I shall be obliged to the chairmen of the several delegations if, as the roll of states is now called, they will rise in their places and announce their names; the object being that the Chairman may be able to distinguish, from the location of the speakers from time to time, the delegation to which they belong.

The Secretary called the roll, and the chairmen of the respective delegations answered their names as follows:

Maine, Lot M. Morrill; New Hampshire, William Haile; Vermont, Solomon Foot; Massachusetts, Alexander H. Bullock; Rhode Island, Thomas Durfee; Connecticut, William T. Miner; New York, John A. King; New Jersey, William A. Newell; Pennsylvania, Simon Cameron; Delaware, Nathaniel B. Smithers; Maryland, Henry W. Hoffman; Kentucky, R. K. Williams; Ohio, C. Delano; Indiana, Daniel Mace; Illinois, R. C. Cook; Michigan, Austin Blair; Wisconsin, Alexander W. Randall; Iowa, D. D. Chase; Minnesota, John M'Kusick; California, M. C. Briggs; Oregon, Thomas H. Pearne; West Virginia, Leroy C. Kramer; Kansas, James H. Lane.

RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

The PRESIDENT—Is the Committee on the Order of Business ready to report?

Mr. Calvin Day, of Connecticut, the Committee on the Order of Business are prepared to report, and I ask Mr. Drake, the Secretary of the committee, to read the report.

Mr. E. F. Drake, of Ohio, proceeded to read the report as follows:

Rule 1. Upon all subjects before the Convention, the States shall be called in the following order: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, California, Oregon, West Virginia, Kansas, and other States and Territories declared by the Convention entitled to representation in the same, shall be called in the order in which they are added by the Convention.

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Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I think it is improper to put West Virginia before Kansas. We were born first.

Mr. E. F. Drake, of Ohio, allow me to explain to the gentleman that blanks were printed for the use of the Clerk, and it was convenient to name the States in the order there found.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair supposes there is another reason. Kansas has been so gallant, and her history so full of heroic deeds, that she cannot be damaged, place her where you may. [Applause.]

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, in that regard Kansas claims no superiority over Western Virginia. [Applause.] Her children have been as gallant and fought as bravely as the children of any other state. It is a mere question of age.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair will direct the Secretary to amend the roll agreeably to the suggestion of the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. E. F. Drake, of Ohio, continued to read the report as follows:

Rule 2. Four votes shall be cast by the delegates at large of each state, and each congressional district shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

Rule 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon, and the Report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to ballot for candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 4. That when it shall be determined by this Convention what States and Territories are entitled to representation in this Convention, together with the number of votes to which they may be entitled, a majority of all the votes so determined shall be requisite to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

Rule 5. When a majority of the delegations from any two states shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by states, the Secretary calling the roll of states in the order heretofore stated.

Rule 6. In a recorded vote by States, the vote of each State shall be announced by the chairman of the respective delegations, and in case the vote of any State shall be divided, the chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate, or for or against any proposition.

Rule 7. That when the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the delegation from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

Rule 8. No member shall speak more than once to the same question, nor longer than five minutes, with the unanimous consent of the Convention.

Rule 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall continue to be the rules of this Convention, so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

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The report was adopted.

Mr. E. F. Drake, of Ohio, the Committee on the Order of Business have directed me to make this further report:

A National Union Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and District represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each such State, Territory and District shall name a person to act as a member of said committee.

The report was adopted.

REPORT ON CREDENTIALS.

Mr. Preston King, of New York, Mr. President, the Committee on Credentials, after a very patient hearing of the representations made by the gentlemen who have appeared and claimed seats in this Convention, wherever there has been a question of their right to sit, from whatever cause that question may have arisen, have come to conclusions which they report as the report of the committee to the Convention, without, however, entire unanimity in the committee on some points. Upon the main questions a large majority of the committee have agreed. There will, on some points, be a minority report with the assent of the committee and of the Convention, by the member of the committee from West Virginia, with some one or two others joining him in it. I desired that our report should be regarded as the report of the committee without any minority report; but as I differed from the committee on two or two or three points, I gave them notice (and I have their assent), that I should move to amend the report upon my individual responsibility as a member of the Convention. I will now proceed to report to the Convention the points upon which the great mass of the committee agreed:

"First, the committee find that the credentials of the delegates from the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, California, Oregon, West Virginia and Kansas, as presented by the delegates, are sufficient and satisfactory."

That of course admits their delegations.

"In the next place, the committee find that the certificates from Pennsylvania are all regular, with the exception of the certificate for the first district of that State. In that district, the certificate states that four delegates were elected. The district is entitled to but two. The facts were reported to the committee, and the committee recommend that the two having the highest number of votes, be admitted as delegates, and that the other two be admitted as alternates.

"In the case of Missouri, the committee report and recommend that the delegation known as the "Radical Union Delegation," be admitted to this Convention. [Applause.]

"The committee further report, that the delegations from Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Florida and Arkansas, be admitted to this Convention with all the rights and privileges of delegates, except the right to vote.

"The committee report respecting South Carolina, that there is not in their judgment, sufficient reason for the admission of the delegation which appears from there, and therefore recommend that the delegation appearing from that State, be not admitted.

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"The committee also report, that the delegations from the organized Territories, and from the District of Columbia, be admitted to the Convention with all the rights and privileges of delegates, except the right to vote."

This, Mr. President, is the report of the committee; and I now ask that, before taking any action upon it, the Convention receive the minority report which, by the assent of the committee, the delegate from West Virginia was authorized to make as such, and then I shall move my own proposition of amendment.

The PRESIDENT—It is moved that the minority report shall now be read, reserving to the chairman of the Committee on Credentials the privilege of moving amendments to the majority report.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. W. E. Stevenson, of West Virginia, I desire to state, Mr. President, that the minority report which I now present was prepared very hastily this morning, the committee having labored until long after midnight, and I have not been able to see a number of gentlemen of the committee who desired to be consulted in reference to it, and therefore I have been unable to obtain as many signatures as I designed. I will, however, read the report and send it to the Chair:

"To the President of the National Union Convention:

"The undersigned concur in the report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials, except that portion which proposes to exclude from the privilege of voting in the Convention the delegates from the States of Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee and Florida, and from the Territories of Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico Dakota and Montana.

"Therefore, the undersigned recommend that the delegates from the States and Territories aforesaid shall be entitled to vote upon all questions brought before the Convention.

"W. E. STEVENSON, W. Va.,
"HIRAM SMITH, Oregon."

Mr. Preston King, of New York, I learn that since the report was agreed upon, leave was also granted to another gentleman of the committee to make a minority report. I am informed since I was last up that the delegate from Kansas desires also to submit briefly a minority report. It was fairly covered in the consent of the committee to these gentlemen, and I therefore hope the Convention will also receive the report of the delegate from Kansas as a minority of the Committee on Credentials.

The PRESIDENT—Is it the pleasure of the Convention that a second minority report shall be received?

[Yes.]

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, Mr. President, at the request of Mr. Insley, the member from Kansas on the Committee on Credentials, I present a minority report prepared by him, and I will read it to the Convention:

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"The undersigned respectfully desires to present a minority report from the Committee on Credentials, of which he is a member, in relation to the admission of the delegates from the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado and Nevada, to seats and votes in this Convention. Differing with the majority of the Committee only on this point, it is fitting that I present my reasons for the course herein urged.

"First and foremost is the fact that the three Territories named are about to pass from the territorial condition of dependence on the General Government to that of State sovereignties, subordinate only to the supreme law and necessities of the nation, the present Congress having passed enabling acts, whereby these Territories receive a pledge of admission into the Federal Union, provided only they come clothed in the robes of freedom; and the people of these Territories having gladly accepted the supreme condition, are even now engaged in the work of State organization, with a fair prospect of completing the same in time to wheel into line with the other loyal States, and, by voting for the nominees of the Union party, aid *politically*, as they have already done *materially* and by arms, in the establishment of the national authority, and securing the perpetuity of the Union.

"Secondly, the recognition of the delegates from those Territories, by this Convention, will very materially aid the party of nationality and freedom in those communities.

"Our interests lie with the movements now being made, under the authority of Congress, for their organization and admission. It is our duty, both as loyal men seeking the supreme good of the nation, and as members of a great party having that end for its primary purpose, to give all the aid and strength we legitimately may for the furtherance of that object. It is believed that the recognition of these delegates will materially benefit our cause as well as the State movements now pending. The loyalty of these Territories none can question. Nebraska has sent her citizens to the field, and from Donelson to Chattanooga their courage and sacrifices have been freely offered. Colorado makes the proud boast of never having had a Copperhead in her Territorial Legislature. She has a prouder boast than this, in that campaign where her volunteers won such imperishable honors, saving thereby the immensely important mountain Territories of the far West from being overrun by the Texan rebels, and securing uninterrupted our communications with the Pacific.

"For Nevada, let the treasury of the Sanitary Commission speak in praise. Under the wise rule of Governor Nye, that distant territory is emerging as not only one of the richest but one of the most loyal States.

"For these reasons, I urge the admission of these gentlemen with all the rights of delegates, into this Convention. Let me refer you, as a precedent for such action, to the course taken in relation to that State—Kansas—which I have the honor in part to represent here. The Republican Convention of 1856 admitted its delegates to seats and votes. It was then seeking admission into the Union under what was known as the Topeka constitution. Again, at Chicago, in 1860, was the same course adopted. Its admission was pending before Congress, nor was it recognized as a State until the party of freedom, under the lead of Abraham Lincoln, obtained power.

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"It will not do in this hour, with this precedent, with the facts before us, and the strong probability presented by these communities of being enabled to swell the vote of the next President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, by the welcome addition of three members of the Electoral College, to ignore the claims of Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada. M. H. INSLEY.

Mr. Preston King, of New York, Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention, the paper which I read to you was the report to which the majority of the committee, the large majority I may say, agreed, and the papers which have since been read embody the conclusions to which the gentlemen who have made these other reports came, dissenting from that majority. There was scarcely any proposition upon which some member did not dissent. I propose, upon three propositions on which I dissented, to make a motion to amend the original report, as a substitute for both propositions that have come in; and I shall move to amend because I determined that I would not make a minority report. I move, in the first place, as a substitute for the propositien of the report in regard to the Missouri case, the following:

"That the delegation, known as 'The Unconditional Union Delegation' from Missouri, be admitted as delegates with 'The Radical Union Delegation' from that State, and that where the delegations agree they shall cast the vote to which the State is entitled, and where they do not agree the vote of the State shall not be cast."

The majority report, it will be remembered, proposes to admit the delegates from certain States, and the Territories and District of Columbia, without the right of voting. I propose to amend it by providing that all the delegates who shall be admitted to this Convention shall be entitled to vote, and to all the rights and privileges of delegates without any exception, but that the District of Columbia and the Territories respectively shall be entitled to but two votes, and that no State, District or Territory shall be allowed to cast more votes than it has delegates present in the Convention, and in no case more than it is entitled to under the rules of the Convention. These are the amendments which I offer as substitutes for the propositions of the committee.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair understands that the question before the Convention is upon the majority report and upon such amendments to that report as may be proposed in their order. A minority report as such cannot be received. Any amendment in a minority report may be offered in the form of an amendment to the propositions of the majority report. The question is now upon the amendments offered by Mr. King, in the order in which he has presented them. Before the question is put to the Convention, however, the Chair desires to say that he has been informed

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by one of the gentlemen, belonging to the so-called Unconditional Union Delegation of Missouri, that he desires to be heard by the Convention before a vote shall be taken upon the report of the committee. If it is the pleasure of the Convention to hear him, they will so signify.

The question being put, the Convention refused to hear the gentleman.

Mr. C. C. Sholes, of Wisconsin, I ask the gentleman from New York to withdraw his amendment so that we may consider one question at a time. I prefer first to take the vote on admitting the delegates from the seceded states; next in regard to the State of Missouri; and next in regard to the territories and the District of Columbia. I think it will be impracticable to consider all these three questions together.

Mr. Preston King, of New York. I prefer that the vote shall be taken together. I desire to say a very few words upon the question. Any member of the Convention, I suppose, has a right to call for a division of a proposition which is divisible. It is his right, and he had better make the call himself rather than request me to do it.

Mr. C. C. Sholes, of Wisconsin, in order that we may have a properly constituted Convention, I desire to move first that that portion of the report of the Committee which has been unanimously presented, be adopted by this Convention.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair thinks that the amendments proposed by the gentleman from New York are susceptible of a division.

Mr. Preston King, of New York, when a call is made for a division.

Mr. A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, I suggest to the gentleman from New York that he withdraw his proposition until the report of the Committee on Credentials be adopted, so far as relates to the uncontested seats, because, before we get through with these questions, we may have to call the yeas and nays, or take a vote by states, and to do that we should have a Convention to vote.

Mr. President, does the gentleman from New York withdraw his proposition for the present?

Mr. Preston King, of New York, I prefer not to withdraw the motion, because I do not wish to lose the order in which the questions stand; but, to obviate all difficulty about that, as I have a right to modify my own motion, I move first that that portion of the report be adopted which relates to the uncontested seats of delegates, as reported by the majority of the committee.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair will put the question on that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

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Mr. Preston King, of New York, the motion which has just been adopted, refers to delegations from States which are uncontested, and now we come to the other questions. The majority of the committee propose that the Radical Union Delegation from the State of Missouri, and they only shall be admitted as the delegates of that State. I propose to amend this clause of the report so as to read:

"That the delegation known as 'The Unconditional Union Delegation' from Missouri, be admitted with the delegates of 'The Radical Union Delegation,' and that where the delegations agree that they shall cast the vote of the State, and where they do not agree, the vote of the State shall not be cast."

The PRESIDENT—The question is on the amendment just read by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. Preston King, of New York, Mr. President and gentlemen—I think the suggestion of this proposition is all that is required by this Convention. Unless its suggestion is such as meets its approbation, no argument can carry it there. I make the suggestion, and simply say that in the spirit of brotherhood and union and harmony with which we come together here, and in the common determination that animates us all to sustain one another and to strike down our common enemy and to strike down nobody else, I have supposed it was wisest and best to admit all these delegations as brethren [applause], with the powers and privileges that pertain to other delegates. I would not adopt all the propositions that I have made here, in ordinary times, and I do not propose that they shall be a precedent. I hope we shall never have a condition of affairs in this country (and I do not believe we ever shall) when things done now may properly be quoted as a precedent for things to be done then. I have stated my proposition; I will not debate it.

Mr. A. Brandagee, of Connecticut, Mr. President I was very much struck by the observation of the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. Raymond) yesterday, in a speech in which he evoked order out of chaos on this floor, in which he remarked that in the preliminary stages of this Convention we were a mob, a mere mass meeting—a respectable mob to be sure—but so far forth as parliamentary law was concerned, an unorganized body; but that the time would arrive when, after the report of the Committee on Credentials, this mob would settle down into an orderly, parliamentary, organized, deliberative assembly. Now, sir, the proposition of the distinguished Chairman of the Committee of which I have had the honor to be an humble member, proposes to reverse that order, and at the very moment when the mob is passing into a convention to resolve the convention back again into an unorganized mob, because it proposes to admit upon this

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floor not delegates but gentlemen (for they are all gentlemen, as I suppose) coming from States where the Federal Government sits upon its ironclads alone for protection, and can barely plant its foot upon the soil and territory of those States—States that have been in rebellion from the beginning, and are now, and where the arm of the Federal Government scarcely extends over a rod of the surface. It proposes to admit delegates here from Territories that have no vote, and, in my humble judgment as a member of the House of Representatives, will have none between now and the November election.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman is not in order. The only question now is as to the Missouri delegation.

Mr. A. Brandagee, of Connecticut, I understand that very well, and I am coming right to that now. With reference to this contested case from Missouri, there is a right and a wrong to it. There is a delegation here duly accredited, and there is but one. It is the duty of this Convention to ascertain which of these contestants come here with the accredited credentials from some organized party association in that State. Now I aver, and there is not a member upon the Committee who, after the six hours' examination we have given to this question, will dispute the averment, that the Radical Delegation of Missouri is the only delegation that represents here a party or a constituency in that State, or any respectable element in the National party of the country. [Great applause.] The Radical Delegation claiming seats here, proved before your Committee last evening that they represented the only Republican organization which existed at the time the Convention was called for sending delegates to this National Convention. There was no other party organization, except a rebel organization, existing in the State of Missouri at the time when their Convention was called to nominate State officers and send delegates here. The Convention was called, and it was held at Jefferson City, the seat of Government of Missouri. That Convention represented eighty-five counties in that State. Four hundred delegates appeared there, the largest delegate convention ever assembled, either in war or peace times, on the soil of Missouri. After that Convention had been called, and when every loyal man in the State of Missouri had an opportunity of sending his representatives there, and of having his wishes expressed, the "Claybank" faction of the State of Missouri, not satisfied with the call, not satisfied with the anticipated temper of the Convention that was about to assemble, called a convention of their own. And how was the call made? Did it proceed from any organization? Not at all. Certain gentlemen, respectable gentlemen, occupying high positions in the nation and in the State to be sure,

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got together and signed a subscription paper, if it may be so styled, in which they invited their fellow-citizens to meet at St. Louis; and what sort of a convention did they hold there? They had a convention in which it was stated before the Committee but five counties were represented, and the highest claim that was made, even by the friends of that delegation, was that there were one hundred and forty delegates in the Convention, other persons stating that there were but seventy-five delegates. The question for you to-day is whether you will perpetuate this feud in Missouri by admitting both these sets of delegates. Do that, and you will perpetuate it for all time to come, just as the Democratic Convention perpetuated the feud between Mozart and Tammany. Exclude those who have no right to be represented here and they must come in.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman's time is out.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, I move to amend the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, so that, instead of silencing both parties from Missouri when they cannot agree, they may then divide the vote. The gentleman who has just addressed the Convention, I understand, is from one of the extreme Northern States, Connecticut, and of course, therefore, all the statements of fact made by him in regard to this matter, are statements made at second hand. He has no personal knowledge of them except as they were detailed to the Committee of which he was a member. I also live remotely from Missouri, but a great deal nigher than he does. I suppose he will admit that Missouri and Kentucky, for good or for bad, are more alike, as well as that they are nigher together than either of them is nigh or like Connecticut. I therefore suppose that my knowledge is as good as his, with the greatest possible respect both for his statement of facts and his statement of inference. I have not a particle of doubt, and say to you to-day, if I were in my old profession of the law, I would risk my head upon making twelve of you find that everything he has stated is either unfounded or utterly exaggerated. Any twelve of you, if put in a jury box, would find that the facts were not so. If you pursue the course undertaken to be recommended by that gentleman, you will get Missouri into a condition, if possible, worse than it has already been in. But, for compromise's sake, if you choose to admit both delegations without entering into any question as to whether this or that is the right one, it appears to me that, as it is perfectly certain that one or the other is entitled to vote, it is absurd in us to undertake to silence a State that is truly represented here by somebody, and that the proper course would be for them, if they will agree, to take half of the vote of the State from each delegation. I think this is the only way to do under the circumstances. I suppose it

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would not be strictly in order for me to discuss the difference between the amendment as proposed by me, and the proposition of the Committee. I will say one single thing more. My object is, if you let both in, not to silence both, but to let them divide their vote—so that we can get the vote of the State, for undoubtedly the State is entitled to a representation here by somebody. Now, sir, this Convention is in one sense a Republican Convention, but in a very vague sense. I took occasion to say, in the remarks I made yesterday, that you had every sort of party men, and that you had every sort of no-party men—that, in a word, we were all united upon the naked proposition to maintain the Union, and do it by whatever is absolutely necessary to be done in order to maintain that Union, and are willing to adjourn over all other questions that must come up in their course.

Voices—Order, order. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, gentlemen, I will make you a present of what else I should have said if I had had a chance [laughter].

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. G. Volney Dorsey, of Ohio, I wish to make a few remarks on this subject, and I will not occupy over five minutes, which, by the rule of the Convention, is allowed to each member. I want to call attention to the fact that this Convention, for the purpose of deciding questions which could not be decided in mass convention, appointed a Committee on Credentials, because they knew that the facts could be better judged of in the quiet of a small room, before a small number of persons, than in a mass convention. Under the lead of the excellent Chairman of the Committee, the gentleman from New York, that Committee held a prolonged session of many hours. The Committee had brought before them gentlemen representing both of the contesting parties in the State of Missouri, and with care and deliberation they listened to the arguments of those contesting parties. The result drawn from the deliberations of that Committee, and based upon the statements made by the contesting parties from Missouri, this Convention has before it here this morning in the report of the majority; and I beg leave to say to the Convention, with all respect to the Hon. Chairman, and without violating any of the proprieties of that Committee Room, that the very same proposition presented here before the Convention this morning by him, was presented before that committee and voted down; and why so? Is it improper, then, to present the same question to this Convention as a whole? Most assuredly not; but remember that this Convention entrusted to that committee the care of deciding all these questions. They did decide. They agreed to the report of the majority. They voted down the very proposition which the Honorable Chairman now proposes to the Convention.

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The PRESIDENT—Will Mr. Dorsey stop for a moment? The Chair did not call the gentleman to order when he referred to the proceedings of the committee, in the hope that he would make a bare reference to them. The Chair now rules that it is not in order in a discussion in this Convention to refer to the proceedings of a committee.

Mr. G. Volney Dorsey, of Ohio, then I will not do so. I only intended to add to what I have said, that the committee having been entrusted by this Convention to decide upon this important question were more competent to do so than a mass convention, for they have listened carefully to the contestants, and the opinions presented by those persons who were set forward to speak as advocates of the contesting parties, and they have come carefully to the conclusion presented by the majority, and as such they feel willing to entrust the report of the majority to the sense and to the vote of the Convention.

Mr. S. M. Breckinridge, of Missouri, Mr. President——

Several members—Not on the roll.

Mr. S. M. Breckinridge, of Missouri, I rise, gentlemen, not of my own choice——

Mr. A. Brandagee, of Connecticut, under what order of the Convention is the gentleman allowed to speak?

The PRESIDENT—Under the order of the Convention adopted yesterday.

Mr. A. Brandagee, of Connecticut, allow me to suggest to the Chair that the credentials of the Missouri delegation were referred to the committee.

Mr. Geo. W. Curtis, of New York, I submit that this Convention is at present composed only of those delegates whose seats are without contest, and that has been decided by a vote taken this morning.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair was of the impression that a different rule had been adopted yesterday under the temporary arrangement, but the gentleman from New York is correct, and Mr. Curtis has the floor.

Mr. Geo. W. Curtis, of New York, the Missouri question, Mr. President, is no new question, either to this Convention or to the country. It is a question which was almost coeval with that of the rebellion itself. It is a question, with the most profound deference to our eminent friend from Kentucky, which is well known in its details all over this country. The Missouri question is a question which must be met, which must be settled, and no where can it be met so well, and settled so conclusively, as in this National Convention of Union men of the country. [Great applause.] Now then, sir, we yesterday appointed a committee, as the gentleman from Ohio has so well said, for the purpose of

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making all those inquiries of detail which it was impossible for this Convention to make, and we have the report of that committee, so far as appears unanimous, with the exception of my honored friend from New York. that the Radical delegation from Missouri shall be admitted to this floor, with all the privileges of voting and all the other privileges of delegates. [Applause.] The question of fact so far as it may be hidden from us of the Convention, has been settled, has been reported upon by the committee. Now, then, we encounter the question as the Union men of the country, and I take my argument from the mouth of my most honored friend who has introduced this amendment. It is because we wish to strengthen the Union sentiment of this country; it is because we wish, at this moment, to cheer and encourage the brave men with bared and bleeding breasts who are standing firm as the radical men in Missouri, from the beginning have stood firm for the great cause which underlies this whole question. It is for that reason, sir, that I implore you, and I implore the Convention, to give no uncertain sound, but to let it ring out to Missouri, out to the Territories, back again to Maine and to the North, that we recognize the radicals of Missouri, who have always been true. I freely confess that we, of the North, have not had in our own persons all the bitter sufferings that all our friends in the Border States have had; yet I wish this report adopted, that we may be strengthened at home, that at the West and in the Northwest the union sentiment may be strengthened, that our army all along the line, with Sherman and Grant, may hear no uncertain sound from us at the rear; because, as a practical fact, there is not a man in this Convention who does not know that the admission of the radical delegation from Missouri is the practical settlement of that question, and the practical adhesion of the great Union party of this country to the policy with which they have been identified, and it is for that reason that I hope, sincerely, in the name of the Union, in the name of liberty, and for the sake of strengthening the loyal men of the land, the recommendation of my eminent friend from Kentucky will not prevail. [Great applause.]

Mr. Daniel Mace, of Indiana, in order to facilitate the organization, and dispose of this question, I move to lay the proposed amendment on the table.

The PRESIDENT—Is the gentleman aware that his motion, if adopted, carries the whole subject to the table?

Mr. Daniel Mace, of Indiana, I think not, according to the rules of the House of Representatives. Certainly, when I was a member of that House, a motion to lay an amendment on the table did not carry the original proposition.

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The PRESIDENT—The Chair understands that to be the rule, and must so hold.

Mr. N. B. Smithers, of Delaware, I suggest to the gentleman from Indiana to withdraw his motion and demand the previous question.

Mr. Daniel Mace, of Indiana, I adopt that suggestion, and demand the previous question.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, do I understand that the previous question is called on the whole proposition, or only on this amendment?

Mr. Daniel Mace, of Indiana, on the amendment.

The call for the previous question was sustained.

The PRESIDENT—The question is on the amendment of the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Breckinridge) to the amendment of the gentleman from New York (Mr. P. King).

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDENT—The question before the Convention now is the amendment offered by Mr. King, of New York, to admit both delegations from Missouri.

The question was put, and the amendment was rejected.

Mr. Preston King, of New York, a division was called on my proposition. I made several distinct propositions.

The PRESIDENT—The Convention will understand that a division was called for on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York. The first amendment has now been voted upon and decided in the negative. The question now before the House is upon the next amendment in the order of the division.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, will the President state distinctly to us in what condition it leaves the original recommendation of the committee in regard to the Missouri delegation?

The PRESIDENT—The Chair was misled. He was of the impression that there was another amendment relating to the Missouri question, but it seems there is not, and therefore the question now is directly upon the report of the committee directly on the Missouri question.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, I wish to say one word on that question.

Several delegates—Debate is not in order.

The PRESIDENT—Under the rule, Dr. Breckinridge, you cannot speak to this question.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, I have not spoken to this question.

The PRESIDENT—The main question is now before the House. Debate is out of order. The question is whether the Convention will agree to the report of the majority of the committee in reference to the delegation from Missouri.

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Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, I submit that the previous question was not in force when I claimed the floor, and therefore I have a right to be heard.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair understands the previous question to have applied to the whole report.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, only to the amendment. I wish to say a single sentence, that is all. I do not wish to be gagged.

The PRESIDENT—There is obviously a misapprehension as to what is before the Convention, growing doubtless out of the confusion of the Chair itself. Allow me, therefore, to say that the question now before the Convention is, under the operation of the previous question, upon that part of the report of the majority of the committee which relates to the Missouri case.

Mr. Campbell Tarr, of West Virginia, called for a vote by states.

The PRESIDENT—The Secretary will proceed to call the roll of the states on this question.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, I rise to a question of order.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I rise, sir, to a personal explanation. By the rules of the House of Representatives, the present rules differing from what they were formerly, when the previous question is called on an amendment, it applies only to the amendment, and does not extend to the original proposition. It was for that reason, that when the gentleman from Indiana called for the previous question, I inquired of him if it was to apply only to the amendment, and I understood him to reply that it was.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Pennsylvania informs the Chair that there has been a change in the rules of the House of Representatives in regard to the effect of the previous question; that the previous question being called and sustained, applies only to the amendment then under consideration.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, if so called.

The PRESIDENT—That being the rule, the previous question does not apply to so much of the report of the majority of the committee as relates to the Missouri case, and the gentleman from Kentucky is entitled to the floor upon that question.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, I wish to make but a single remark upon this question. If I understand what you are about to do, the vote which you will now give (and with your present temper I have no doubt you will give it), a delegation from a party in Missouri, whose main business for the past two years has been to support and sustain the President of the United States, whom we are about to nominate by acclamation, will be refused seats here. The delegates whom you are about to admit, are sent here by a convention that put before the people a platform, which

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platform, as I understand the English language, put their support on the condition that the President of the United States will agree to be brow-beaten by them. I will not vote to say that any such delegation from any such party is the sole delegation from the State of Missouri. Least of all will I do it as a Union-Lincoln man, favorable to the Union-Lincoln cause in the State of Missouri, and I tell you here to-day, that if you give this vote and do this thing, you will, if you will allow a Presbyterian preacher to say so, come as nigh to playing the devil as any set of gentleman ever did with their eyes blindfolded.

Mr. A. Brandagee, of Connecticut, I call for the previous question upon that part of the majority report which refers to the Missouri case.

The call was sustained.

The PRESIDENT—The proposition is, that the Radical Delegates from Missouri be admitted as full delegates on this floor. Upon this question there has been a call for a vote by states, and the Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

The roll was called with the following result:

	Ayes.	Nays.		Ayes.	Nays.
Maine	14	..	Indiana	26	..
New Hampshire	10	..	Illinois	32	..
Vermont	10	..	Michigan	16	..
Massachusetts	24	..	Wisconsin	16	..
Rhode Island	8	..	Iowa	16	..
Connecticut	12	..	Minnesota	8	..
New York	66	..	California	10	..
New Jersey	14	..	Oregon	6	..
Pennsylvania	49	3	West Virginia	10	..
Delaware	6	..	Kansas	6	..
Maryland	14	..		—	—
Kentucky	21	1		440	4
Ohio	42	..			

The PRESIDENT—The result is to admit the Radical Delegation from Missouri as the full delegation from that State. [Vociferous applause.] The next question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, in regard to the other States and Territories, which he will read.

Mr. Preston King, of New York, the proposition was divided on the call of some gentleman. This is the next clause which I propose:

"That the delegates admitted to this Convention from Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Florida and Arkansas, and from all the organized Territories and the District of Columbia, shall be allowed all the privileges of delegates, including the right to vote; but that the Territories and the District of Columbia shall be allowed two votes only; and that no State or Territory shall be allowed to cast more votes than it has delegates present, or more than it would be entitled to under the rules of the Convention."

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I understand that proposition to embrace all the amendments the gentleman from New York has to offer. Am I right?

Mr. Preston King, of New York, yes, sir.

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Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, then the question comes between that and the majority report, and I believe we are pretty much disposed to sustain the Committee all the way through. I call, therefore, for the previous question on the whole subject.

Mr. C. Walborn, of Pennsylvania, I desire to say a word at this stage.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, it is out of order. I have called for the previous question.

Mr. C. Walborn, of Pennsylvania, do I understand that I cannot make a remark at this time?

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, it is not in order.

Mr. C. Walborn, of Pennsylvania, may I not ask to have the call withdrawn?

The PRESIDENT—The Chair will state the question. The majority report recommends that the delegates from the several States and Territories named shall be admitted with the rights of delegates, except that they shall not be allowed to vote. The amendment proposes to add to those privileges that of voting. Upon this question the previous question has been called, which, if sustained, will bring the Convention to a vote directly upon the amendment offered by the gentlemen from New York.

The call for the previous question was sustained.

The PRESIDENT—The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York.

The question was put and the amendment was rejected.

Several delegates called for a vote by States.

Mr. A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, the call is too late.

The PRESIDENT—The question before the Convention now is upon the original report of the committee.

Several Delegates—We want to know if Tennessee and Louisiana are included in this vote.

The PRESIDENT—I must ask the gentleman from New York to read the portion of the report.

Mr. Preston King, of New York, all the clauses of the majority report have been agreed to, except the following:

"That the delegations from Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Florida and Arkansas be admitted with all the rights and privileges of delegates to this Convention, except the right to vote. That the delegation asking admission from South Carolican be not admitted to the Convention. That the delegations from the organized Territories, and from the District of Columbia, be admitted to the Convention with all the rights and privileges of delegates, except the right to vote."

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I ask for a division of the question.

The PRESIDENT—I understand the call of the gentleman from Pennsylvania for the previous question to apply to all the matters relating to this subject.

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Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, precisely.

The PRESIDENT—The debate is not in order.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I do not propose to debate, but I rise to a question of privilege. I ask for the division of the question, so that there may be a separate vote taken on the admission of Tennessee, Arkansas and Louisiana, and on the admission of Nevada, Nebraska and Colorado.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair rules that under the call of the previous question a division is not in order, but the Convention is brought to a direct vote on the entire question.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I appeal from the decision of the Chair. I appeal to every parliamentarian in this body if the decision is not an error. The previous question brings the House to a direct vote upon the question, but the proposition before the house is divisible at any period before the vote is taken. ["That's right."]

The PRESIDENT—The Chair has no pride of opinion to consult on this question. The only object of the Chair is to conform to the rules adopted by the Convention. The Chair has made this decision because he thinks it is right. The Chair has no objection to the appeal. But if there be any parliamentarian in the Convention who can speak from his knowledge of parliamentary law as applicable to this Convention, acting under the rules of the House of Representatives, the Chair will be very glad to hear his explanation, and to correct the decision, if it be wrong.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I understand that Mr. Grow, who was for some years Speaker of the House of Representatives, is here, and I am perfectly willing to take his opinion on this question.

The PRESIDENT—If the Chair is wrong, he will be happy to be corrected by Mr. Grow.

Mr. G. A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, I will state to the Chair that, during the last Congress, the rules of the House of Representatives were amended so as to allow the division of a question at any time before a vote. Previous to that time, the decision must have been demanded before the call of the previous question was sustained, or it could not be divided.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair very cheerfully accepts the suggestion of the late Speaker of the House of Representatives, and therefore entertains the call of the gentleman from Kansas for a division of the question; but as the House is acting under the previous question, there can, of course, be no debate.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, the course of the Senate is that a Senator rises in his place and asks for a separate vote on any particular portion of a question which is capable of division. I now ask that the question may be taken on the general report, reserving a separate vote upon the States and Territories I have named.

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The PRESIDENT—Does the gentleman propose to take a separate vote on each State and Territory?

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, all I want is a separate vote as to Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas, and as to Nebraska, Colorado and Nevada.

The PRESIDENT—Does the gentleman propose that there shall be a vote taken on each?

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, no; but let the question be taken separately. These three states stand in the same relation, as I understand. At the suggestion of my friends, I will ask for a separate vote first on the States of Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas. I will then ask for a separate vote upon the Territories that are organizing State governments, namely, Nevada, Nebraska and Colorado, and I desire to have the vote in each case taken by States.

The PRESIDENT—The question then will be first in regard to the States of Arkansas, Tennessee and Louisiana, and upon that question a call is made for a vote by States.

Mr. C. M. Allen, of Indiana, I ask for a further division of the question, so that the vote shall first be taken upon Tennessee separately.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair will entertain that division. The question now before the Convention is in regard to Tennessee.

Mr. George William Curtis, of New York, do I understand that the question now to be submitted is whether the delegation from Tennessee shall be admitted to this floor with all the privileges of delegates, including the right to vote?

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, certainly.

Several delegates—No, no.

Mr. George William Curtis, of New York, I ask the Chair if that is the question.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair has already stated that the report of the majority of the committee, as he is instructed by the chairman of that committee, is that the Tennessee delegates be admitted without the right to vote, but with all other rights; and so of these other states.

Mr. E. F. Drake, of Ohio, the question before us was on agreeing to the report of the majority of the committee, which excluded the delegations from these several states from voting. To that the gentleman from New York moved an amendment that the State and Territorial delegates be allowed to vote. Upon that question a vote was taken, and the result was announced by the Chair, pending which a division was demanded. The Chair ruled the division to be out of order, and afterwards reversed the decision. The question as it now stands is upon voting on the amendment of the gentleman from New York in reference to the State of Tennessee separately.

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The PRESIDENT—Do I understand the gentleman from Kansas aright, that he did not propose to allow the delegates to vote? I understood him to move a division of the question upon these several States and Territories, leaving them in the condition reported by the committee, that is to say, that their delegates should not be entitled to vote.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, the chairman of the committee moved an amendment to give the delegates from several States and Territories the right to vote. That question is pending. When the gentleman from Pennsylvania moved the previous question, I asked for a division of the proposition, and, as I understand, if the motion that I have made prevails, it gives to the State of Tennessee, the State of Louisiana and the State of Arkansas, and the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado and Nevada, a delegation here with a right to vote.

The PRESIDENT—The motion of the gentleman from Kansas is that this division shall be upon the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York, the effect of which, if carried, will be to give a vote to each of the delegates named by him. Upon this question a vote by States has been called. Those in favor of admitting the delegation from Tennessee upon this floor with a right to vote, will say "aye," and those who are opposed to it will say "no." The Secretary will proceed to call the roll.

The roll was called, with the following result:

	Ayes.	Nays.		Ayes.	Nays.
Maine	3	11	Ohio	42	..
New Hampshire	..	10	Indiana	24	2
Vermont	2	8	Illinois	32	..
Massachusetts	.	24	Michigan	2	14
Rhode Island	2	6	Wisconsin	15	1
Connecticut	10	2	Iowa	9	7
New York	66	..	Minnesota	1	7
New Jersey	14	..	California	10	..
Pennsylvania	31	21	Oregon	6	..
Delaware	1	4	West Virginia	10	..
Maryland	1	13	Kansas	6	..
Missouri	19	3		—	—
Kentucky	4	18		310	151

[New York at first voted 48 ayes, 18 nays; Missouri 4 ayes, 16 nays; Indiana 18 ayes, 8 nays; Illinois 32 nays, and California 8 ayes, 2 nays, but changed their votes before the result was announced, as above stated.

The PRESIDENT—The amendment of the gentleman from Kansas has been agreed to, and now the question before the Convention is upon the proposition as amended to admit the delegates from Tennessee with the right to vote.

The motion was agreed to, with deafening applause.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair will now ask the chairman of the delegation from Tennessee to advise the Chair of the number and the names of the delegates from that State to be entered on the roll.

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Mr. Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, the number of delegates present from the State at large and the several districts, some of which are represented by a single delegate only, is fifteen. I might give the reason for that particular number, but it would not inform the Convention or the President. The fact is, that there is that number of delegates present. Mr. President, I am instructed by this delegation to express to the Convention their profound sense of gratitude for this expression of confidence in the patriotism, the loyalty and the devotion to country of our constituents at home [applause], to whose breasts this vote will carry a joy second only to that of a great victory upon the field of arms. [Great applause.]

The PRESIDENT—The Chair understands the chairman of the delegation from Tennessee to report that there are fifteen delegates present from that State. The chairman will please send their names on paper to the Secretary, that they may be enrolled.

Mr. Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, certainly.

Mr. A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, may I inquire of the gentleman from Tennessee whether they represent fifteen congressional districts?

The PRESIDENT—Each district has two delegates, the gentleman is aware.

Mr. A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, I am aware of that, but I desire to know how many congressional districts they represent.

Mr. Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, a portion of them represent the State at large, and the remainder represent the several districts into which the State is divided. One district has one representative, and the others have two. The reason for this peculiar number is well known. The State of Tennessee in the electoral college would be entitled, if admitted to the college, to ten votes, two for her senators and eight for her representatives in Congress. That would entitle her to twenty votes here if her delegation was full. A portion of the present delegation were elected to represent the State at large, another portion to represent the several districts, and one district is represented by but a single delegate. The district in which I myself reside, I representing the State at large, is represented in the person of my friend, the Rev. Dr. Brownlow. [Applause.] These facts will be presented to the Secretary of the Convention, so that the matter may be perfectly understood.

The PRESIDENT—The question now is upon the admission

Mr. C. Delano, of Ohio, I rise to make an inquiry, through the Chair, of the gentleman from Kansas, and it is whether he is not willing now, after the expression of opinion that he has had from the Convention, to withdraw his proposition for a further division, and permit us to come to a settlement of this question by a single vote.

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Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I was on my feet to make that very suggestion. We have admitted Tennessee without a State organization, Louisiana and Arkansas have full State organizations, and I was about to move, and I will move, with the approbation of the Convention, that Arkansas and Louisiana be admitted by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is not in order, except by the universal consent of the Convention.

Several Delegates objected.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I will call for a vote by States on this question.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair will state the question. The motion is that the delegates from Arkansas and Louisiana be admitted to this Convention with the full rights of delegates, including the right to vote, upon which the gentleman from Pennsylvania calls for a vote by States. Is that call seconded? [Yes.] The roll will be called, and those in favor of admitting the delegates from Arkansas and Louisiana, with the full rights of delegates, including the right to vote, will say "aye," and those who are against it will say "no."

The vote was taken, with the following result:

	Ayes.	Nays.		Ayes.	Nays.
Maine	3	11	Ohio	42	..
New Hampshire	.	10	Indiana	22	4
Vermont	5	5	Illinois	32	..
Massachusetts	..	24	Michigan	10	6
Rhode Island	1	7	Wisconsin	15	1
Connecticut	10	2	Iowa	14	2
New York	61	3	Minnesota	..	8
New Jersey	14	..	California	6	4
Pennsylvania	5	47	Oregon	6	..
Delaware	..	5	West Virginia	10	..
Maryland	1	13	Kansas	6	..
Missouri	17	5			
Tennessee	15	.	Total	307	167
Kentucky	12	10			

The announcement of the result was received with great applause.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair will now request the chairmen of the delegations from the States of Arkansas and Louisiana to furnish the Secretary with a list and number of the delegation from those two States.

Mr. A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, I suggest, also, that they furnish a list of the congressional districts represented.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair should first put the question on the motion as amended, the amendment only having been adopted. The motion as amended is, that the delegates from Arkansas and Louisiana be admitted with the right to vote.

The motion was agreed to.

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The PRESIDENT—The next question before the Convention relates to the Territories of Nebraska, Colorado and Nevada; and it is moved that the delegates present from those three Territories be admitted to all the rights of delegates in this Convention, including the right to vote.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, these three Territories are in course of organization as States, and will cast their votes for the nominees of this Convention at the November election. The day of election for the State organization of those Territories is fixed for the second Tuesday of September.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I call the gentleman to order. He knows that we are acting under the previous question.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is to admit the delegates from these three territories, with the right to vote.

The motion was agreed to

The PRESIDENT—The question now before the Convention is on the remaining portion of the majority report.

Mr. J. Y. Scammon, of Illinois, I wish to know what, in the report, is done with Virginia and South Carolina.

The PRESIDENT—The Chairman of the committee will read the report in regard to that matter.

Mr. Preston King, of New York, the parts of the majority report which have not been acted upon, and have not been covered by the amendments made, propose to admit the delegates from Virginia and Florida without the right to vote, and to reject the delegates from South Carolina. It also admits the delegates from all the organized territories, without the right to vote.

Mr. Campbell Tarr, of West Virginia, I move that the report be amended by allowing the delegates from the State of Virginia to vote. Virginia has been put upon the back seat; and when delegates have been admitted from the other States, and even from Territories, I think she is certainly entitled to a place in the list.

Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, I rise to a point of order. I make the point that the call for the previous question having been sustained, the amendment is not in order.

The PRESIDENT—The point of order is well taken.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I move to reconsider the vote ordering the previous question, so as to allow amendments to be made. I think all ought now to come in alike. I move, therefore, to reconsider the vote ordering the previous question.

The motion to reconsider was not agreed to.

Mr. C. M. Allen, of Indiana, what disposition does the report make of New Mexico and the District of Columbia?

Mr. Preston King, of New York, it admits their delegates to the Convention, with all the privileges of delegates, except that of voting.

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Mr. E. D. Smith, of South Carolina, I ask, as chairman of the delegation sent here from South Carolina, whether or not it is in order for that delegation to be heard in favor of the claims of that State here, and whether it is not in order to make a motion to amend the report of the committee which rejects those delegates from the floor altogether. I wish to know whether I may not be allowed to advocate the right of that delegation to appear before this Convention to sit upon the floor without the privilege of voting, the same as the District of Columbia?

The PRESIDENT--The Chair will inform the gentleman that,under the operation of the previous question, such a motion is out of order. The question before the Convention now is, as stated by the Chair, the adoption of the report of the majority of the committee, as amended.

The report was adopted.

Mr. M. B. Lowry, of Pennsylvania, addressed the Chair, and was recognized.

Mr. Campbell Tarr, of West Virginia, I wish to know where the State of Virginia stands in this Convention?

The PRESIDENT—Precisely where the committee reported that it should stand. The delegates are admitted without the right to vote.

Mr. Campbell Tarr, of West Virginia. I move a reconsideration. I demand that the State of Virginia shall have a right to vote on this floor.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman is not in order. Mr. Lowry, of Pennsylvania, is entitled to the floor.

Mr. M. B. Lowry, of Pennsylvania, I rise to inquire how many delegates are reported as coming from Nebraska, and who they are. I am not aware that there are two sets of delegates from that Territory.

The PRESIDENT—The chairman of the delegation from Nebraska has not yet reported the list of delegates. He will please send his list to the Chair, as will the chairmen of the other territorial delegations.

Mr. J. F. Hanks, of Arkansas, my origin was in New York, but I have lived in Arkansas for twenty-seven years, and I claim that we have a right to be taken to the bosom and under the protection of the Stars and Stripes. We thank the Convention for having admitted us to seats.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I move that the Committee on Resolutions be called upon to make their report.

Mr. A. Brandagee, of Connecticut, do I understand that the report of the Committee on Credentials has been adopted?

The PRESIDENT—It has been adopted as amended.

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Mr. J. J. Stewart, of Maryland, as one who voted for the adoption of that report for the purpose of moving a reconsideration, I now rise to make that motion, and I will state my reason for so doing. Arkansas, Louisiana and Tennessee have been admitted, but Virginia has been excluded. ["Order, order."]

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman is not in order. The gentleman from Kansas has made a motion calling for the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The Chair rules that to be in order, and the question is on that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Henry J. Raymond, of New York, I am instructed by the Committee on Resolutions and Platform to present for the consideration and action of this convention the following series of resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the Rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the Rebels and traitors arrayed against it. [Prolonged applause.]

2. *Resolved*, That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with Rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions. [Applause.]

3. *Resolved*, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this Rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of Republican Government, justice and the National safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic [applause]: and that, while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defence, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of Slavery within the limits or the jurisdiction of the United States. [Tremendous applause, the delegates rising and waving their hats.]

4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the Army and Navy [applause], who have periled their lives in defence of their country and in vindi-

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cation of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance. [Loud applause and cheers.]

5. *Resolved*, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which ABRAHAM LINCOLN has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery [applause]; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other Constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect. [Vociferous applause.]

6. *Resolved*, That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National Councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially endorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the government. [Applause.]

7. *Resolved*, That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war [applause]—and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the Rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress. [Prolonged applause.]

8. *Resolved*, That foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power to this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy. [Applause.]

9. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast. [Applause.]

10. *Resolved*, That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal state to sustain the credit and promote the use of the National currency. [Applause.]

11. *Resolved*, That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European Power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any Republican Government on the Western Continent [prolonged applause]—and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for Monarchial Governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States. [Long-continued applause.]

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Mr. C. S. Bushnell, of Connecticut, those resolutions are their own argument. I move their adoption by acclamation.

The motion was agreed to, amid enthusiastic applause.

NOMINATION OF PRESIDENT.

Mr. C. Delano, of Ohio, I move that this Convention now proceed to the nomination of candidates for Presideut and Vice-President of the United States. [Great applause.]

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I move, as a substitute for the motion of the gentleman from Ohio, the following:

"*Resolved*, That ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois [great applause], be declared the choice of the Union party for the President, and HANNIBAL HAMLIN, of Maine, be the candidate for Vice-President of the same party."

["No," "no."]

Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, I call for a division.

Mr. William M. Stone, of Iowa, I ask, sir, if I cannot submit a motion to amend the resolution, not the substitute of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, but the original resolution?

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Pennsylvania has offered this as a substitute for the motion of the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa, I move to lay it upon the table.

The PRESIDENT put the question on the motion to lay upon the table, and declared that it was agreed to.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and others called for a vote by States.

Mr. B. C. Cook, of Illinois, I move that Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, be declared the choice of this Convention. [Great applause.]

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa, I insist on my motion.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Iowa moved that the resolution offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania be laid upon the table. That motion was put to the House, and declared to be carried; and the Chair then recognized Mr. Cook, of Illinois, as having the floor.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I called for a vote by States before the result was declared.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair did not hear the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I supposed so, for there was a universal yell everywhere.

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa, I have not yet yielded the floor.

The PRESIDENT—Does the gentleman from Pennsylvania insist upon a call of the States, upon the motion of the gentleman from Iowa to lay upon the table the resolution of the other gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Cameron)?

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, I do, sir.

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Several Delegates—It is too late.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Pennsylvania informs the Chair that, before the motion was put to the Convention, he called for a vote by States.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, before it was announced.

The PRESIDENT—The call was made before the vote was announced, but not before the question was put. Under the rules, as I understand, before the announcement of a vote upon a proposition, a delegate has a right to call for a vote by States; and that being so, the Convention will now vote upon the adoption of the substitute offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, I call for a division of the question on the substitute.

The PRESIDENT—That is not now in order, because the question before the Convention is, shall the resolution offered by General Cameron be laid upon the table? and upon that question a vote by States is called.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, I wish to make a motion covering the whole subject, if I may be allowed one moment to do so. I wish to move to lay all these resolutions on the table for the purpose of declaring by acclamation that Abraham Lincoln is our choice for President of the United States. [Tremendous applause.]

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I appeal to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, General Cameron, with the consent of the Convention, to withdraw his resolution. It places us in a very awkward predicament indeed. I do hope that he, consulting the best interests of the country, will withdraw his resolution, and let us vote upon the motion made by the gentleman from Iowa. [Applause.]

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, allow me to say a word to the gentleman from Kansas. If he thinks it is injurious to the best interests of the country for me to persist in my resolution, I will now agree, to save all this trouble, to withdraw my proposition. [Applause.]

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, now give us "Old Abe." [Great cheering.]

The PRESIDENT—The motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania being withdrawn, Mr. Cook, of Illinois, is entitled to the floor.

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I beg pardon, I am not done. I was about to say that I would withdraw my resolution and move, instead of it, that this Convention nominate by acclamation Abraham Lincoln for the second term. [Vociferous applause.]

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa, I do not want the gentleman to cheat me out of my motion. [Laughter.]

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The PRESIDENT—General Cameron withdraws his resolution upon condition. The Chair cannot recognize the right of the gentleman to withdraw upon condition.

Several Delegates—Let General Cameron withdraw it unconditionally.

The PRESIDENT—It must be an absolute withdrawal, or not at all. Does the gentleman withdraw his resolution?

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I modify my resolution in the way I have suggested.

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa, is the substitute of the gentleman from Pennsylvania withdrawn?

The PEESIDENT—The gentleman from Pennsylvania has not answered the question of the Chair.

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I say my resolution is not withdrawn, but modified.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair does not recognize that as being within the rules. The resolution offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania not being withdrawn, it is before the House, and a vote by States has been called for upon it.

Mr. Henry J. Raymond, of New York, I understand, sir, that the motion now before the Convention is that substituted by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. S. Cameron) for the one which he offered a little while ago, but afterwards withdrew; and that motion is, that Abraham Lincoln be nominated by acclamation as our candidate for President. Now, sir, on that point I desire to say one word. I take it for granted, and I believe, that there is no man in this Convention, no matter from what state he may come, who will not, however the vote may be taken, whether by acclamation, by a call of States, or by a call of individual delegates, give his vote in just that way. It cannot, therefore, be from any apprehension as to the result of the vote, that this particular way of taking it is proposed. Hence we must look to other considerations in deciding how we shall take it. Sir, I desire to submit one consideration to this Convention. It is very well known that attempts have been made, though I believe without success, to convey the impression that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln is to be rushed through this Convention by some demonstration that will not allow the exercise of individual opinion. Is it wise, under these circumstances, to take a vote by acclamation, which cannot possibly change the result, which can add no weight whatever to it, but which may give rise to misconstruction? I suggest, therefore (and I shall move as a substitute a resolution embodying my view), that the wisest course would be to allow the roll of States represented in this Convention to be called, and let every delegation declare its vote, and I believe there will be a unanimous vote from every delegation precisely

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to the same effect. [Great applause.] I think the moral effect of that vote will be greater than one taken originally by acclamation. It can be reinforced, as it will be reinforced in this Convention and throughout the country, by the loud acclamations of the American people. [Renewed applause.] Now, sir, I move as a substitute for the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that the roll of States be called, and that each delegation be called upon to name its candidate for the President of the United States.

Mr. E. M. Madden, of New York, and upon that resolution I call for the previous question.

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I desire to accept the suggestion of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Raymond).

Mr. B. C. Cook, of Illinois, Mr. President. the State of Illinois again presents to the loyal people of this nation, for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. God bless him. [Great applause.]

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa, in the name of the great West I demand that the roll be called.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Ohio moved that this Convention proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President. Thereupon a resolution was offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, which has been discussed, and upon that the gentleman from New York moves that we proceed to the nomination of a candidate for President alone. I ask the gentleman from Ohio whether he accepts that as a substitute for his motion.

Mr. Wm. M. Stone, of Iowa, the gentleman from Iowa, you mean.

Mr. C. Delano, of Ohio, allow me a word of explanation. It was with a full comprehension of the necessity of having an expression of opinion in favor of Abraham Lincoln, in order that there should be no misapprehension, no claim that he had been nominated by clamor, and that public sentiment had been suppressed, as has been suggested by the gentleman from New York, that I desired to have the nomination made in the mode indicated by my motion. No man desires his nomination more than I. I assisted in it in a small majority in my own delegation four years ago. I thank God for the privilege. I now accept the resolution offered by the gentleman from New York as a substitute for mine, for that accomplishes the object I have in view, and then I shall be glad to see gentlemen express their opinions by acclamation until their throats are sore.

The PRESIDENT—The question before the Convention is on the motion that we proceed to the nomination of a candidate for President by the call of States.

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Mr. W. M. Stone, of Iowa, I submitted a motion to lay on the table the substitute of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and that motion has been adopted.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, give us a little magnanimity, Stone, and let us vote.

Mr. W. M. Stone, of Iowa, then I moved that Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, be declared the nominee by acclamation. ["Vote, vote."] I accept the amendment of Mr. Raymond, of New York, and in the name of the Great West, I again demand that the roll shall be called. [Applause.]

Mr. Thompson Campbell, of California, I rise, sir, to second the nomination made by the honorable gentleman from Illinois. Coming as I do from one of the most distant States of this Union, of which it can be said in truth that there is no more intensely or uncompromisingly loyal State, considering that she is the golden link in that mysterious chain by which the various parts of this great nation are bound together in indissoluble bonds which never can be separated by rebellion's hands—["Vote, vote."]—I ask to be allowed to say but half a dozen words. In the name of the great constituency which sent us here, I second the nomination of the present President of the United States, and I feel assured that, under his lead, we shall go on triumphantly to victory and conquer peace.

The PRESIDENT—The question is on the resolution offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. Raymond).

The resolution was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT—The roll will now be called by the Secretary.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll, and as each State was called, responses were made by the Chairmen of the respective Delegations as follows:

Maine—Maine casts her entire vote for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.—14 votes.

New Hampshire—New Hampshire, the Granite State, in her convention on the 6th day of January last, unanimously passed a resolution, nominating Abraham Lincoln for re-election as President of the United States. New Hampshire to-day, by her delegates, casts her ten votes, first and last, for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

Vermont—The Green Mountain State casts her small but entire vote of ten for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

Massachusetts—Massachusetts gives her entire vote, twenty-four, to Abraham Lincoln.

Rhode Island—Rhode Island casts her entire eight votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Connecticut—Connecticut gives her twelve votes to that pure and patriotic statesman, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

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New York—New York casts sixty-six votes, her entire vote, for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President of the United States.

New Jersey—New Jersey gives fourteen votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Pennsylvania—Pennsylvania gives her entire vote, fifty-two, for Abraham Lincoln, "nigger" troops, and all. [Laughter.]

Delaware—Delaware gives her vote, six, for Abraham Lincoln.

Maryland—Maryland casts fourteen votes for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

Louisiana—Louisiana gives her fourteen votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Arkansas—Arkansas casts all her votes, ten, for Abraham Lincoln.

Missouri—Mr. J. F. Hume, Missouri comes into this Convention purified by its action, and her delegates will support the nominees made here, and do the utmost in our power to secure for them the electoral vote of the State. It is but right and proper, however, that I should state that, in the convention which designated us as delegates to this Convention, we were instructed, and we cannot, upon the first ballot, give our votes in unanimity with those who have already cast their votes. ["Order," "order."]

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I appeal to the Convention to hear Missouri.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Missouri is not in order unless by consent of the House.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I move that consent be given.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. J. F. Hume, of Missouri, it is a matter of much regret that we now differ from the Convention which has been so kind to the Radicals of Missouri; but we come here instructed. We represent those who are behind us at home, and we recognize the right of instruction, and intend to obey our instructions; but in doing so, we declare emphatically that we are with the Union party of this Nation, and we intend to fight the battle through with it, and assist in carrying its banner to victory in the end, and we will support your nominees, be they who they may. [Great applause.] I will read the resolution adopted by the convention which sent us here:

"That we extend our heartfelt thanks to the soldiers of Missouri, who have been, and are now, baring their breasts to the storm of battle for the preservation of our free institutions. That we hail them as the practical Radicals of the Nation, whose arguments are invincible, and whose policy for putting down the rebellion is first in importance and effectiveness."

Mr. President. in the spirit of that resolution, I cast the twenty-two votes of Missouri for the man who stands at the head of the fighting Radicals of the Nation, Ulysses S. Grant.

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The calling of the roll was continued as follows:

Tennessee—The convention that sent us here instructed us to say that, in their opinion, the election by the American people to the office of President of any other man than he who now fills the Executive Chair, would be regarded both at home and abroad as a concession of something to the Rebellion, and instructed us, by all means in our power, to secure the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, and I now give him the fifteen votes of Tennessee. [Applause.]

Kentucky—Kentucky casts her twenty-two votes for Abraham Lincoln, and will ratify that nomination in November. [Great applause.]

Ohio—Ohio gives her forty-two votes for "Old Abe" for President.

Indiana—Indiana casts her twenty-six votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Illinois—Illinois gives thirty-two votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Michigan—Michigan gives sixteen votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Wisconsin—Wisconsin casts sixteen votes for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

Iowa—Iowa casts sixteen votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Minnesota—Minnesota casts eight votes for Abraham Lincoln.

California—California casts ten votes, all for Abraham Lincoln.

Oregon—Oregon casts six votes, all of them, first, last and all the time for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

Kansas—Radical Kansas casts her six votes for "Honest Old Abe."

West Virginia—West Virginia remembers her friends. She casts her ten votes in this Convention, the entire vote of the State of West Virginia, representing almost the entire loyal vote of the State, for Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

Nebraska—Nebraska has one man in her delegation who was never a Lincoln man, but who belongs to that proud party called the War Union Democrats, and I am requested by that delegate to say, that he submits to the Convention, and I give the six votes of Nebraska for Abraham Lincoln, whom we regard as the second saviour of the world. [Applause.]

Colorado—Colorado casts her six votes for Abraham Lincoln.

Nevada—Nevada gives six votes for Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

The PRESIDENT—The call of the States and Territories has now been completed.

Mr. J. F. Hume, of Missouri, the vote has not been announced, but I wish to make a motion now, without waiting for the announcement, inasmuch as it is well understood what the result of the ballot just given is. I move that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, be declared unanimous. [Applause.]

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Several delegates—Change your votes.

Mr. J. F. Hume, of Missouri, our vote was given under instructions, and therefore I do not know that we can change it.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman's motion is not in order until the vote shall have been announced.

The Secretary proceeded to announce the vote as follows:

	Lincoln.	Grant.		Lincoln.	Grant.
Maine	14	..	Ohio	42	..
New Hampshire	10	..	Indiana	26	..
Vermont	10	..	Illinois	32	..
Massachusetts	24	..	Michigan	16	..
Rhode Island	8	..	Wisconsin	16	..
Connecticut	12	..	Iowa	16	..
New York	66	..	Minnesota	8	..
New Jersey	14	..	California	7	.
Pennsylvania	52	..	Oregon	6	..
Delaware	6	..	West Virginia	10	..
Maryland	14	..	Kansas	6	..
Louisiana	14	..	Nebraska	6	..
Arkansas	10	..	Colorado	6	..
Missouri	..	22	Nevada	6	..
Tennessee	15	..			
Kentucky	22	..	Total	484	22

The PRESIDENT—The total number of votes cast is 506, of which 484 have been cast for Abraham Lincoln, and 22 for Ulysses S Grant. [Great applause.]

Mr. J. F. Hume, of Missouri, I now move that the nomination of Abraham Lincoln be declared unanimous; and I do not care whether the vote of Missouri is changed or not.

Several delegates—Change the vote.

Mr. J. F. Hume, I am authorized now to change the vote of Missouri to Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. [Great applause.]

The Secretaries announced that the vote was unanimous—506 for Abraham Lincoln.

The delegates and the audience simultaneously rose to their feet, and greeted the announcement with vociferous applause. The band struck up "Hail Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle," which were rapturously received.

The PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention—Although it is unnecessary after what has taken place, yet, as a part of my duty, I announce the unanimous nomination of Abraham Lincoln for the next Presidency, for the term commencing on the 4th of March next. [Great applause.]

Mr. W. M. Stone, of Iowa, I move that we now proceed to vote for a candidate for Vice-President by the call of the States.

Mr. Leonard Swett, of Illinois, I am requested on behalf of the delegation from Illinois, to return to this Convention their thanks for the honor conferred upon our State, in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln. We thank these delegates, we thank their constituents, we thank all men of all parties, who have contributed to this result. In 1860, when the Convention at Chicago, from the illustrious list of statesmen there presented, selected Mr. Lincoln as the standard-bearer for that great struggle——

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Mr. Wm. A. Dart, of New York, I object to the gentleman locating Mr. Lincoln in Illinois. He belongs to the Union.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair thinks the point well taken.

Mr. Leonard Swett, of Illinois, I confess that the point is well taken, and also the word was taken out of my mouth which I was about saying. I was going to say that we felt, then, that Mr. Lincoln was our citizen; but when we gave him, then, to the country, we felt that our claims upon him were relieved; and now, more than ever, we feel that this Convention, in renominating him, has nominated not especially the child of Illinois, but the favored child of this great nation. [Great applause.] I will not detain this Convention by remarks, but I wish to say that we rejoice at the unanimity displayed in the selection of a man whom we know to be honest and faithful, and who was reared and has lived in our State. We do not forget the honor, and we shall not cease to be grateful for it; and we shall manifest that gratitude not by prolonged words, but by doing, in reference to the great struggle still pending, what we have done in the past. We have put one hundred and seventy regiments into the field, and if this war shall last four years more, we will evidence our zeal by putting in as many more, if necessary. I again return the thanks of Illinois to the Convention.

NEWS FROM THE ARMY.

The PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, I will ask your attention to the reading of a despatch, which I have just received, addressed to me by the Secretary of War.

The despatch was read as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, June 8, 1864—1:30 p. m.

"A despatch from Mr. Dana, at General Grant's headquarters, dated last night at 8:30 p. m., announces a victory by General Hunter over the rebels beyond Staunton, and that the rebel General Jones was killed on the battlefield. The despatch is as follows:

"'*Richmond Examiner* of today speaks of the defeat of General W. E. Jones by General Hunter, twelve miles beyond Staunton, Va. General Jones was killed on the field. His successor retired to Waynesboro, and now holds the mountains between Charlottesville and Staunton. The paper further states that no hospital stores were captured by Hunter.'

"Another despatch announces that our forces occupy Staunton.

"Hunter's victory, and that our troops occupy Staunton, is confirmed by the following despatch, just received from General Butler:

"'All is quiet on my line. Richmond papers of June 7 give intelligence of a fight at Mount Crawford between General Hunter and General Jones, in which Hunter was victorious, and Jones, rebel commander, was killed. Staunton was afterwards occupied by the Union forces. The fighting was on Sunday.'

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

The reading of the despatch was followed by great cheering.

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OREGON ELECTION.

Mr. T. H. Pearne, of Oregon, Mr. President, I have just received, as Chairman of the Delegation from Oregon, a despatch from that State, in reference to the General State Election which was held on the day before yesterday. The despatch informs me that she has gone largely for the Union. [Applause.] The Union majority, in my own county, is six hundred. Last election it was less than three hundred. It is the first gun of the campaign. [Great applause.]

NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

The PRESIDENT—The question before the Convention is the motion of the gentleman from Iowa, to proceed to the nomination of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

Mr. R. F. Andrews, of New York, I move that the rule relative to debate, which was adopted by this House, be so far amended as to allow each gentleman presenting a candidate for Vice-President to have twenty minutes to present the merits of his claims.

["No," "no."]

Mr. A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, I move that the motion be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. C. M. Allen, of Indiana, is it now in order to make nominations for the Vice-Presidency?

The PRESIDENT—It is.

Mr. C. M. Allen, of Indiana, Indiana presents the name of Andrew Johnson, of the State of Tennessee. [Great applause.]

Mr. W. M. Stone, of Iowa, the State of Iowa seconds the nomination of Indiana. [Great applause.]

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I am instructed by the State of Pennsylvania to present the name of Hannibal Hamlin for Vice-President. [Great applause.]

Mr. R. K. Williams, of Kentucky, Kentucky nominates General L. H. Rousseau. [Applause.]

Mr. Lyman Tremaine, of New York, in behalf of a portion of the New York delegation, I nominate Daniel S. Dickinson. [Great applause.]

Mr. Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, Mr. President, we but represent the sentiment of those who sent here the delegation from Tennessee, when we announce that if no one else had made the nomination of Andrew Johnson, which is now before the Convention, it would have been our duty to make it by one of our own delegation. That citizen, known, honored, distinguished, has been presented to this Convention for the second place in the gift of the American people. It needs not that I should add words of commendation of him here. From the time he rose in the Senate

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of the United States, where he then was, on the 17th of December, 1860, and met the leaders of treason face to face, and denounced them there, and declared that the laws of the country must and should be enforced, for which he was hanged in effigy in the city of Memphis, in his own State, by the hands of a negro slave, and burned in effigy, I know not in how many more places throughout that portion of the country—from that time, or during the residue of that session of the Senate until he returned to Tennessee, after the firing upon Fort Sumter, when he was mobbed in the city of Lynchburg in Virginia, on through the memorable canvass that followed in Tennessee, till he passed through Cumberland Gap on his way north to invoke the aid of the Government for his people; his position of determined and undying hostility to this Rebellion that now ravages the land has been so well known that it is a part of the household knowledge of every loyal family in the country. [Great applause.] Of his sentiments on the questions that now agitate the public mind, and his present attitude before the country, it is equally unnecessary for me to speak. He himself has spoken in words unmistakable, not only in his own State, from Memphis on all the way to Knoxville; not once, but repeatedly; not in a corner, but before thousands of our own citizens and persons assembled from other portions of the State, and from other States; but he has spoken, also, in the capital of the Nation, spoken, also, in this city, spoken, also, I know not in how many State capitals throughout the entire country. His opinions are upon record; they are known and read of all men. I have only to say in addition upon that point, that when he sees your resolutions that you have adopted here by acclamation, he will respond to them as containing his sentiments, and I pledge myself by all that I have to pledge before such an assemblage as this, that whether he be elected to this high place, or whether he retire to private life, he will adhere to those sentiments, and to the doctrines of those resolutions as long as his reason remains unimpaired, and as long as breath is given him by his God. [Great applause.]

Mr. Lyman Tremaine, of New York, Gentlemen of the Convention, in behalf of a portion of the New York delegation, I beg your indulgence while I submit a few considerations in favor of the nomination of Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York. I have no time to answer the question who is Daniel S. Dickinson, and what are his claims to recognition in a National Union Convention. Although an adopted son of New York, he is a native of New England, of that same New England which, thank God, is not yet out of the Union [applause], but is represented to-day on the floor of this Convention by representatives engaged in the great work for which her sons are pouring out their life on the

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field of battle. Daniel S. Dickinson, by force of his own talents, without the aid of wealth or influential friends, has worked his way up to an honorable and prominent position, having held the best offices within the gift of the people of New York. He has been our Lieutenant-Governor, our Attorney-General, our Senator for six years in the Senate of the United States.

The question, then, comes back—is Daniel S. Dickinson popular in this State of New York, that can cast thirty-three electoral votes for the nominees of this Convention? On that subject let me submit a single statement of fact. In 1861 a Union Convention was called in the State of New York, which nominated Daniel S. Dickinson for the first office then before the people, the office of Attorney-General, almost by acclamation; and that nomination was sustained, by a majority of over one hundred thousand votes, at the ballot-box, Daniel S. Dickinson leading the ticket and receiving a majority of one hundred and eight thousand votes. [Applause.] Has anything occurred since to change that popularity? If fidelity to the nominations and principles of the party which elected him, if an undying zeal in the cause of the Union, if to plead with no uncertain sound wherever his services were required in favor of the Union and against the wicked Rebellion, has weakened his popularity, then, and only under those circumstances, is Daniel S. Dickinson less able to carry the State of New York to-day by one hundred thousand majority than he was in 1861. Nay, more; since that time the soldiers of New York have been allowed to vote, and I venture to express the opinion here to-day, that with Lincoln and Dickinson as our standard-bearers, we can give to the nominees of this Convention more than one hundred thousand majority in New York at the next election. I ask for Daniel S. Dickinson a recognition as the repreeentative of the War Democracy, who have joined their fortunes with the Union party. [Great applause.] It was well said by the temporary and by the permanent Chairman that we meet not here as Republicans. If we do, I have no place in this Convention. I have been a life-long Democrat; but, like Daniel S. Dickinson, when the first gun was fired on Sumter, I felt that I should have been false to my revolutionary ancestry (for although I differed with Massachusetts on political questions, I should have been false to my paternal grandfather, a soldier of the Revolution, whose bones lie buried beneath the soil of Massachusetts) if I could have hesitated to cast partisan ties to the breeze, and rally around the flag of the Union for the preservation of the Government. [Great applause.] Daniel S. Dickinson has cast all partisan prejudices to the wind. He has received the storm of obloquy and abuse more than has been showered upon any one by the friends of Jeff. Davis, and the murderous, traitorous crew who have rallied

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around him. I ask that he be recognized by this Convention, not for himself—he makes no claim—when his name was spontaneously suggested, he withdrew from attending at this Convention as a delegate——

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman's time is out.

Mr. R. F. Andrews, of New York, I move that the gentleman be allowed to proceed ten minutes longer.

The motion was not agreed to.

Mr. N. B. Smithers, of Delaware, I move that we proceed to call the roll, and on that motion I call for the previous question.

The call for the previous question was sustained, and the motion was agreed to.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll, and, as each State was called, the chairman of the delegation responded. The responses were as follows:

Maine—Maine casts her entire vote for Hannibal Hamlin—14.

New Hampshire—New Hampshire gives one vote for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee; two votes for Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts; three votes for Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York; and four votes for Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine.

Vermont—Vermont gives a divided vote for Vice-President, as follows: for Hannibal Hamlin, two votes; for Daniel S. Dickinson, one vote; for Benjamin F. Butler, two votes; for Andrew Johnson, five votes.

Massachusetts—Massachusetts gives for Benjamin F. Butler, two votes; for Joseph Holt, two votes; for Hannibal Hamlin, three votes; and for Daniel S. Dickinson, seventeen votes.

Rhode Island—Rhode Island gives three votes for Hannibal Hamlin, two votes for Ambrose E. Burnside, two votes for Benjamin F. Butler, and one vote for Daniel S. Dickinson.

Connecticut—Connecticut gives her twelve votes solid for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee.

New York—New York casts for Andrew Johnson, thirty-two votes; for Daniel S. Dickinson, twenty-eight votes; and for Hannibal Hamlin, six votes.

New Jersey—New Jersey casts twelve votes for Daniel S. Dickinson, and two for Andrew Johnson.

Pennsylvania—Pennsylvania casts her fifty-two votes for Hannibal Hamlin.

Delaware—Delaware throws six votes for Daniel S. Dickinson.

Maryland—Maryland gives eleven votes for Daniel S. Dickinson, two votes for Andrew Johnson, and one vote for Hannibal Hamlin.

Louisiana—Louisiana gives seven votes for Andrew Johnson, and seven votes for Daniel S. Dickinson.

Arkansas—Arkansas gives ten votes for Andrew Johnson.

Missouri—Missouri gives two votes for Andrew Johnson, and twenty for Benjamin F. Butler.

Tennessee—Tennessee gives fifteen votes for Andrew Johnson.

Kentucky—Kentucky casts twenty-one votes for Lovell H. Rousseau, and one for David Tod, of Ohio.

Ohio—Ohio casts her forty-two votes for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee.

Indiana—Indiana gives twenty-six votes for Andrew Johnson.

Illinois—Illinois casts thirty-two votes for Hannibal Hamlin.

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Michigan—Michigan gives her sixteen votes for Hannibal Hamlin.

Wisconsin—Wisconsin gives four votes for Hannibal Hamlin, two for Andrew Johnson, and ten for Daniel S. Dickinson.

Iowa—Iowa gives sixteen votes for Andrew Johnson.

Minnesota—Minnesota gives three votes for Daniel S. Dickinson, and five votes for Hannibal Hamlin.

California—California casts five votes for Hannibal Hamlin, and five for Andrew Johnson.

Oregon—Oregon casts six votes for Schuyler Colfax.

Kansas—Kansas gives two votes for Hannibal Hamlin, two for Daniel S. Dickinson, and two for Andrew Johnson.

West Virginia—West Virginia casts her ten votes for Andrew Johnson.

Nebraska—Nebraska gives one vote for Preston King, of New York; one for Hannibal Hamlin, one for Daniel S. Dickinson, and three for Andrew Johnson.

Colorado—Colorado gives her six votes for Daniel S. Dickinson.

Nevada—Nevada casts six votes for Andrew Johnson.

The PRESIDENT—The call of the roll is completed.

The result of the ballot as it stood when the call was completed was as follows:

	Johnson.	Hamlin.	Dickinson.	Butler.	Rousseau.	Burnside.	Colfax.	Holt.	Tod.	King.
Maine	..	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	1	4	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont	5	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	..	3	17	2	..	..	..	2	..	.
Rhode Island	..	3	1	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New York	32	6	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	2	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania		52	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	2	1	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Louisiana	7	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Missouri	2	..	..	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	..	..	..	..	21	..	..	..	1	..
Ohio	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Indiana	26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Illinois	..	33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	2	4	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	..	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
California	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
West Virginia	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Colorado	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nevada	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	200	150	108	28	21	2	6	2	1	1

While the Secretaries were computing the vote, the following proceedings took place:

Mr. R. K. Williams, of Kentucky, Kentucky asks leave to change her vote by casting twenty-one for Andrew Johnson, instead of for General Rousseau. [Applause.]

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Mr. T. H. Pearne, of Oregon, after consultation, the delegates from Oregon wish to change their votes, and cast the six votes of that State for Andy Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I desire to change the vote of Kansas, and cast it solid for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Applause.]

Mr. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, I am directed by the Pennsylvania delegation to change her vote, and give her fifty-two votes for Andrew Johnson. [Great applause.]

Mr. William A. Newell, of New Jersey, I desire to record the whole vote of New Jersey for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Applause.]

Mr. L. M. Morrill, of Maine, Maine desires to change her vote, and cast her entire vote for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Great applause.]

Mr. Thompson Campbell, of California, California changes her vote, and casts ten unanimously for Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. Wm. Haile, of New Hampshire, New Hampshire changes her entire vote of ten to Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. C. Bullitt, of Louisiana, Louisiana directs me to cast her entire vote of fourteen for Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. S. Foot, of Vermont, I am directed by the delegation from the Green Mountain State to follow the lead of the State of Maine, which surrenders her own son for Andrew Johnson. Vermont casts her entire vote for the noblest Roman in the country, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Great applause.]

Mr. H. W. Hoffman, of Maryland, Maryland casts her fourteen votes for Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. A. H. Bullock, of Massachusetts, Massachusetts desires to change her vote so that it may stand three for Daniel S. Dickinson, and twenty-one for Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. B. C. Cook, of Illinois, Illinois changes her vote of thirty-two to Andrew Johnson. [Great applause.]

Mr. M. B. Smithers, of Delaware, Delaware casts her six votes for Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

Mr. J. F. Hume, of Missouri, Missouri changes her vote, and casts her entire twenty-two votes for Andrew Johnson. [Great applause.]

Mr. T. Durfee, of Rhode Island, Rhode Island wishes to change her vote so that it shall stand seven for Andrew Johnson and one for Daniel S. Dickinson. [Applause.]

Mr. John A. King, of New York, New York desires to make her vote unanimous. She casts sixty-six votes for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. [Great applause.]

The delegates from Colorado and Nebraska also changed their votes to Andrew Johnson.

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Mr. A. Blair, of Michigan, the delegation from Michigan change their vote to Andrew Johnson. [Applause.]

The various corrections having been made, the result of the balloting was announced as follows:

	Johnson.	Dickinson	Hamlin.	Tod.
Maine	14	..	..	..
New Hampshire	10	..	..	..
Vermont	10	..	..	..
Massachusetts	21	3	..	..
Rhode Island	7	1	..	..
Connecticut	12	..	..	..
New York	66	..	..	..
New Jersey	14	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	52	..	..	..
Delaware	6	..	..	..
Maryland	14	..	..	..
Louisiana	14	..	..	..
Arkansas	10	..	..	..
Missouri	22	..	..	..
Tennessee	15	..	..	..
Kentucky	21	..	..	1
Ohio	42	..	..	..
Indiana	26	..	..	..
Illinois	32	..	..	..
Michigan	16	..	..	..
Wisconsin	2	10	4	..
Iowa	16	..	..	..
Minnesota	..	3	5	..
California	10	..	..	..
Oregon	6	..	..	..
West Virginia	10	..	..	..
Kansas	6	..	..	..
Nebraska	6	..	..	..
Colorado	6	..	..	..
Nevada	6	..	..	..
	494	17	9	1

The PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention—Andrew Johnson having received a majority of all the votes, is declared duly nominated as the candidate of the National Union Party for the Vice-Presidency. [Tremendous applause.]

Mr. Lyman Tremaine, of New York, I move that the nomination of Mr. Johnson be made unanimous.

The motion was agreed to unanimously, amid great enthusiasm.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I now move that the list of States be called over, and as they are called, that the chairmen of the respective delegations name one member from each State to constitute the National Committee.

The motion was agreed to.

The roll was called, and the following gentlemen were named to constitute the Committee:

Maine, Samuel F. Hersey; New Hampshire, John B. Clarke; Vermont, Abraham B. Gardner; Massachusetts, William Claflin; Rhode Island, Thomas G. Turner; Connecticut, N. D. Sperry; New York, Henry J. Raymond; New Jersey, Marcus L. Ward; Pennsylvania, S. A. Purviance; Delaware, Nathaniel B. Smithers; Maryland, H. W. Hoffman; Florida, Calvin L. Robinson; Louisiana, Cuthbert Bullitt; Arkansas, James M. Johnston; Missouri,

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S. H. Boyd; Tennessee, Joseph S. Fowler; Kentucky, R. K. Williams; Ohio, G. B. Senter, Indiana, J. D. Defrees; Illinois, Burt C. Cook; Michigan, Marsh Giddings; Wisconsin, S. Judd; Iowa, D. B. Stubbs; California, James Otis; Minnesota, Thomas Simpson; Oregon, Erasmus D. Shattuck; West Virginia, A. W. Campbell; Kansas, James H. Lane; Colorado, Jerome P. Chaffee; Nebraska, W. H. H. Waters; Nevada, H. D. Morgan; Dakota, G. M. Binney; Utah, John W. Kerr; Washington, A. A. Denny; Idaho, William H. Wallace; Arizona, James S. Turner; Montana, N. P. Lankford; New Mexico, John S. Watts; District of Columbia, J. J. Coombs.

RIGHT OF TERRITORIES TO VOTE.

Mr. Francisco Perea, of New Mexico, I ask the unanimous consent of the convention to allow the delegates from New Mexico to record their votes for President and Vice-President of the United States.

The PRESIDENT—The motion is not in order.

Mr. Francisco Perea, of New Mexico, I ask the unanimous consent of the Convention.

Mr. J. S. Watts, of New Mexico, I move that the remaining organized territories of the United States, which have sent delegates to this Convention, be now called, and that their delegates be permitted to record their votes for President and Vice-President of the United States. We are ready to pour out our life-blood in carrying your glorious heaven-born banner wherever the honor of our country requires it to be carried. We feel as patriotic and as much disposed to sustain it as any other portion of the country, and I hope that we shall not be denied the privileges which have been granted to other sister territories upon this floor. I want an opportunity to record our votes for Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I move to amend the motion of the gentleman from New Mexico, by including South Carolina and the District of Columbia. ["Oh, no."]

Mr. J. S. Watts, of New Mexico, I object to that. Sir, I think the gentleman from Kansas should not make that motion. His state has been built up by our trade. We take $2,000,000 worth of produce from the State of Kansas into New Mexico; and I hope he will not turn his back upon us when we ask the privilege of being heard on this floor.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, I desire to state that there is a delegation here from South Carolina, and one from Florida, and one from Virginia, and one from the District of Columbia. They represent loyal men. This is a small boon to extend to them, the privilege of recording their votes, after they have been at the expense of traveling, at a good deal of exposure, this great distance. It seems to me that this small boon should be extended not only to the territory of New Mexico, but to all those states which are

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wrestling, as Kansas wrestled at an early day, to overthrow the accursed institution of human slavery.

Mr. Francisco Perea, of New Mexico, the question, I understand, is on the motion of my colleague, which is, that all the territories which have not already voted be allowed to record their votes on the question of the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency.

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Kansas has moved to amend that motion by including Virginia, South Carolina and Florida, and the District of Columbia.

Mr. E. M. Madden, of New York, I call for a division, so that we may take the question on the motion to admit New Mexico alone.

Mr. J. S. Watts, of Mew Mexico, I hope my friend from Kansas will do me the favor to withdraw his amendment, and present it as a separate proposition, if he desires to have it voted upon. In the name of justice and in the name of right, do not embarrass so small an act of justice as I propose, with any other considerations. There has never been any question about the loyalty of New Mexico..

The PRESIDENT—It is always an unpleasant duty to the Chair not to respond to the generous and patriotic promptings of gentlemen who may submit motions to be entertained by the Convention; but the Chair regards the propriety of this motion as being so questionable, that he will ask the advice of the Convention before he entertains the motion. The Convention will bear in mind that when it was full, some hours since, it determined by its recorded vote that the territories and the states embraced within the motion and the amendment now pending should not be allowed to cast votes in this body. The Convention will also bear in mind that the Presidency and Vice-Presidency have been voted upon, and Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson have been declared the unanimous nominees of this Convention. That has gone over the wires to the farthest extent of the country. It is now proposed, with the Convention very much thinned out, to allow other votes to come in, which may change the unanimity of this Convention in regard to the candidates that have been nominated; and I therefore ask the advice of the Convention before I put the motion. I do not want the Convention to vote down a proposition such as that submitted by the gentleman from New Mexico, which appeals to the heart of every member present as it will appeal to the country.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, the question of propriety suggested by the Chair strikes me with a great deal of force, and therefore I will, so far as I am concerned, withdraw my amendment.

Mr. A. W. Randall, of Wisconsin, I do not understand how we can proceed any further with this question, unless we reconsider the previous action of this Convention.

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Mr. J. S. Watts, of New Mexico, the unanimous consent of the House can permit the remaining territories to be called, and record their votes.

Mr. T. H. Pearne, of Oregon, I move that the delegates from New Mexico be allowed to record their votes for Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson.

Mr. J. S. Watts, of New Mexico, I accept the amendment.

Mr. T. E. Cochrane, of Pennsylvania, it seems to me impossible that that motion should be entertained. It is in direct conflict with the solemn vote of the Convention taken today by States.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair will not entertain the motion unless by unanimous consent.

Several delegates objected.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair is compelled very reluctantly to overrule the motion of the gentleman from New Mexico.

Mr. E. Delafield Smith, of New York, I move that the Secretaries receive any communications that these various delegations may see fit to make, showing their sentiments in favor of the nomination of Lincoln and Johnson, in order that those communications may go on the minutes.

The motion was agreed to.

COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON NOMINEES.

Mr. C. S. Bushnell, of Connecticut, I move that the President of this Convention be authorized to select one from each State as a Committee to inform President Lincoln and Andrew Johnson of their nomination.

Mr. George W. Curtis, of New York, I move to amend the motion by providing that the roll of the convention be now called, and that each State, by the chairman of its delegation, name a member of that Committee.

The amendment was adopted, and the motion as amended was agreed to.

Mr. J. H. Lane, of Kansas, before the roll is called, I move that the President of the Convention shall be Chairman of that Committee, and I will put the motion myself.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

The PRESIDENT—The Chair is under very great obligations to the Convention for this expression of their kindness. The roll will now be called for the purpose of naming members of the Committee.

The roll was called, and the following gentlemen were named to constitute the Committee:

Maine, Josiah H. Drummond; New Hampshire, Thomas E. Sawyer; Vermont, B. Barlow; Massachusetts, A. H. Bullock; Rhode Island, A. M. Campbell; Connecticut, C. S. Bushnell; New

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York, George Wm. Curtis; New Jersey, William A. Newell; Pennsylvania, Henry Johnson; Delaware, N. B. Smithers; Maryland, W. L. W. Seabrook; Louisiana, A. A. Atocha; Arkansas, Val. Dell; Missouri, John F. Hume; Tennessee, M. M. Bryan; Kentucky, G. W. Haight; Ohio, E. P. Pyffe; Indiana, Cyrus M. Allen; Illinois, W. Bushnell; Michigan, L. P. Alexander; Wisconsin, A. W. Randall; Iowa, Peter Valinda; California, John Bidwell; Oregon, Thomas H. Pearne; West Virginia, Leroy Kramer; Kansas, A. C. Wilder; Nebraska, A. S. Paddock; Colorado, John A. Nye; Nevada, T. Winter.

THANKS TO THE OFFICERS.

Mr. John A. King, of New York, I beg leave, sir, in behalf of this Convention, to tender the thanks of its members to the President and other officers for their able and continued services in behalf of the Convention; and I do it with the more pleasure as there has been nothing which has occurred among us to mar its harmony or to make it otherwise than unanimous and honorable to the gentlemen who are here. I therefore make that motion.

The Vice-President (Mr. W. A. Newell) put the question on the resolution of thanks, and it was unanimously agreed to.

PUBLICATION OF PROCEEDINGS.

On the motion of Mr. W. J. Grow, of New York, it was ordered that the proceedings of the Convention be published in pamphlet form, under the direction of the officers.

Mr. T. H. Pearne, of Oregon, I move that the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of the pamphlet to each member of the Convention.

Mr. J. W. Ray, of Indiana, I would suggest, as one of the Secretaries, that the result of that would be to require the Secretary to pay two cents postage for the privilege of accommodating each member.

The motion was agreed to.

ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. J. J. Reddick, of Nebraska, at the time the Committees on Credentials and on Resolutions were appointed, the Territory of Nebraska had not been admitted with the right to vote, and therefore was not represented on the Committee. I therefore suggest that the Secretary be directed to add to those Committees the following names——

Mr. J. Y. Scammon, of Illinois, do not let us make ourselves ridiculous by saying here, at the end of this Convention, things that are not true. If we comply with the request that has just been made, we shall insert on our record what we all know is not true; and the motion is not in order.

The VICE-PRESIDENT (Mr. Newell)—In the opinion of the Chair, the motion cannot be entertained.

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INVITATIONS, &C.

The President read a letter from Mrs. Almira Lincoln Phelps, presenting to the Convention a copy of her book—"Our Country"—for each of the States, to be deposited in the State libraries.

They were received with the thanks of the Convention, and distributed to the different chairmen of the delegations.

An invitation was received to visit Patterson Park Hospital, where over one thousand wounded men, representing all the States of the Union, will be gratified to meet their delegates.

Mr. G. W. Curtis, of New York, I move that the thanks of the Convention be returned to the officers who have sent the invitation, and that the delegates will, if possible, avail themselves of it.

The motion was agreed to.

THANKS TO CITY COUNCILS.

Mr. A. B. Butler, of Ohio, I move that the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the City Councils of Baltimore for having prepared and provided this room for the use of the Convention.

The motion was agreed to unanimously.

ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE.

Several delegates moved that the Convention adjourn *sine die*.

The PRESIDENT—Gentlemen of the Convention: There is no further business for the Convention, except for me, on behalf of the officers of the Convention, as well as for myself, to tender their thanks and my thanks for the very kind resolution offered by the gentleman from New York, and for the very kind treatment the Chair has received from the Convention during its sitting. I ventured to predict, in the few remarks that I had the honor to make on taking the Chair, that the proceedings of this Convention would be marked with the greatest harmony. That prediction has been fulfilled, and that spirit of harmony which has prevailed and been the leading characteristic of the Union organization since its first inception, has been illustrated by the acts and the conduct of this Convention to-day.

I congratulate you, gentlemen of the Convention, upon these auspicious results. I congratulate you upon what you have done in presenting to the country two such men as Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson for the two highest offices within the gift of the people. I congratulate you upon the news received to-day, showing that our armies are making steady progress towards the suppression of this Rebellion. I congratulate you upon all the indications of the future so far as it pleases Providence to make those indications known to us.

Now, gentlemen, having returned you the thanks of the officers of the Convention and my own, nothing remains to be done on my part except to express my earnest wish and sincere prayer that it may suit the purposes of Providence to take you all safely to your homes to meet your families in health and prosperity, and your constituents approving, as I have no doubt they will approve, the acts of this Convention.

The Convention now stands adjourned *sine die*.

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LIST OF DELEGATES.

MAINE.

Delegates at Large.	*P. O. Address.*	*Alternates*
N. A. Farwell	Rockland.	
S. F. Hersey	Bangor.	
John H. Burleigh	South Berwick.	
James Drummond	Bath.	
Delegates.		
1 J. H. Drummond	Portland.	
1 Thomas Quimby	Biddeford.	
2 Lot M. Morrill	Augusta.	
2 Nahum Morrill	Auburn.	
3 B. W. Norris	Skowhegan.	
3 Joseph Clarke	Waldboro.	
4 Geo. K. Jewett	Bangor.	
4 E. G. Dunn	Aroostook.	
5 Wm. McGilvery	Searsport.	
5 L. L. Wadsworth	Pembroke.	

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Delegates at Large.		
Onslow Sterns	Concord.	
Wm. Haile	Hinsdale.	
John B. Clarke	Manchester.	
Thomas C. Sawyer	Dover.	
Delegates.		
1 Joseph B. Adams	Portsmouth.	D. H. Buffum.
1 B. J. Cole	Lake Village.	A. T. Joy.
2 Edward Spaulding	Nashua.	Chas. P. Danforth.
2 David Cross	Manchester.	J. B. Perkins.
3 Shepard L. Bowers	Newport.	E. L. Goddard.
3 E. L. Colby	Lancaster.	T. P. Cheney.

VERMONT.

Delegates at Large.		
Solomon Foot	Rutland.	T. W. Park.
E. P. Walton	Montpelier.	Moses Kettridge.
A. P. Hunton	Bethel.	A. Stoddard.
Carolus Noyes	Burlington.	W. C. Smith.
Delegates.		
1 Edwin Hammond	Middlebury.	Bela Hawe.
1 A. B. Gardner	Bennington.	Henry C. Dwight.
2 Horace Fairbanks	St. Johnsbury.	S. P. Flagg.
2 B. W. Bartholemew	Washington.	Artemus Cushman.
3 Bradley Barlow	St. Albans.	Jed. P. Ladd.
3 Henry Stowell	Cambridge.	James Simpson.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Delegates at Large.		
Alexander H Bullock	Worcester.	William Whiting.
William Claflin	Newton.	Julius Rockwell.
John A. Andrew	Boston	Moses Kimball.
James T. Robinson	North Adams.	Jonathan E. Field.
Delegates.		
1 Geo. Marston	Barnstable.	C. F. Swift.
1 J. Bourne, Jr.	New Bedford.	Foster Hooper.
2 B. W. Harris	East Bridgewater.	B. F. White.
2 H. A. Scudder	Dorchester.	Caleb Swan.
3 Geo. A. Shaw	Boston.	Albert J. Wright.
3 Ginery Twitchell	Brookline.	Geo. S. Hale.
4 F. B. Fay	Chelsea.	E. F. Porter.
4 R. I. Burbank	Boston.	Isaac F. Morse.
5 S. H. Phillips	Salem.	Edwin Waldon.
5 J. G. Hurd	Amesbury.	H. B. Smith.

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6	G. W. Cochran	Methuen.	F. M. Stone.
	G. O. Brastow	Somerville.	N. B. Bryant.
7	C. R. Train	Framingham.	J. C. Ayer.
	T. Wentworth.	Lowell.	G. S. Boutwell.
8	A. O. Mayhew	Milford.	C. D. Wheeler.
	C. Adams, Jr	N. Brookfield.	F. W. Bird.
9	C. G. Stevens	Clinton.	Henry James.
	Chas. A. Stevens	Ware.	A. H. Merrlam.
10	Henry Alexander, Jr	Springfield.	R. W. Kellogg.
	A. J. Waterman	Lenox.	Henry Chickering.

RHODE ISLAND.

Delegates at Large.

Thomas Durfee	Providence.
Joel M. Spencer	Coventry.
Edward Harris	Cumberland.
Asa M. Gammell	Warren.

Delegates.

1	Jas DeWolf Perry	Bristol.
	Henry H. Fay	Newport.
2	G. D. Cross	Westerly.
	John J. Reynolds	North Kingston.

CONNECTICUT.

Delegates at Large.

Joseph R. Hawley	Hartford.
Augustus Brandagee	New London.
C. S. Bushnell	New Haven.
Wm. T. Minor	Stamford.

Delegates.

1	H. A. Grant	Endfield.
	Jasper H. Bolton	Stafford.
2	Orville H. Platt	Meriden.
	Samuel L. Warner	Middletown.
3	G. W. Phillips	Putnam.
	James Lloyd Green	Norwich.
4	Oliver H. Perry	Southport.
	W. W. Welch	Norfolk.

NEW YORK.

Delegates at Large.

Henry J. Raymond	New York.	Geo. Babcock.
Daniel S. Dickinson	Binghamton.	J. S T. Stranahan.
Lyman Tremaine	Albany.	Thomas Hilhouse.
Preston King	Ogdensburgh.	Noah Davis.

Delegates.

1	Geo. Wm Curtis	North Shore.	Geo. Huntington.
	John A. King	Jamaica.	F. A. Potts.
2	Charles L. Benedict	Brooklyn.	Henry Hill.
	A. M. Bliss	Brooklyn.	Wm. M. Thomas.
3	W. A Cobb	Brooklyn.	George Ricard.
	Anthony F. Campbell	Brooklyn.	John Cashow.
4	J. B. Taylor	N. Y.	O. W. Brennan
	Sheridan Shook	"	B. F. Weymouth.
5	David Miller	"	Reuben C. Mills
	Sanford L. Macomber	"	John L. Seymour.
6	Simeon Draper	"	Hugh Gardner.
	John Keyser	"	H. Van Schaick.
7	W. E. Duryea	"	John Lalor.
	R. F. Andrews	"	Lewis J. Kirke.
8	T. R. Murphy	"	R. Busteed.
	Wm. R. Stewart	"	J. D. Ottiwell.
9	Abram Wakeman	"	James E. Coulter.
	Amor J. Williamson	"	Ira A. Allen.
10	W. H. Robertson	Katonah.	S. D. Gifford.
	John W. Ferdon	Piermont.	A. Rider.
11	William J Groo	Monticello.	David Clements
	E. M. Madden	Middletown.	Ezra Farrington.
12	John Cadman	Chatam Four Corners.	John S Ray.
	John B. Dutcher	Pawling.	R. Peck.
13	William Masten	Kingston.	Wm. S. Kenyon.
	Reuben Coffin	Catskill.	John S. Donnelly.
14	Geo. Wolford	Albany.	Alexander Greer.
	Clark B. Cochrane	Albany.	Hobart Krum.

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15	Aschel C Greer	Troy.	J. Thomas Davis.
	John T. Masters	Greenwich.	Dennis P. Ney.
16	Geo. W. Palmer	Plattsburgh.	Byron Pond.
	W. W. Rockwell	Saratoga Springs.	Orlando Kellogg.
17	W. S. Dickinson	Bangor.	Hiram Horton.
	W. A. Dart	Potsdam.	C. T. Hurlburd.
18	Charles Stanford	Schenectady.	H. Baker.
	A. H. Ayer	Fort Plain.	J. S. Landon.
19	L. J. Walworth.		D. H. Clark.
	R. S. Hughston.	Delhi.	Harman Bennett.
20	J. O. Donnell	Lowville.	E. A. Brown.
	H. M. Burch	Little Falls.	A. H. Prescott.
21	Ellis H. Roberts.	Utica.	D. B. Danforth.
	Samuel Campbell	Utica.	J. S. Avery.
22	L. H. Conklin	Mexico.	H. K. W. Bruce.
	Charles L. Kennedy	Morrisville.	Harvey Palmer.
23	T. B. Fitch	Syracuse.	D. McCarthy.
	R. H. Duell	Cortlandville.	C. T. Longstreet.
24	S. B. Gavitt	Lyons.	S. K. Williams.
	Wm. Burroughs	Seneca Falls.	J. K. Webster.
25	M. H. Lawrence	Penn Yan.	S. H. Torrey.
	W. H. Smith	Canandaigua.	Geo. N. Wilson.
26	M. M. Cass	Watkins.	Geo. W. Schuyler.
	W. S. Lincoln	Newark Valley.	Geo. Bartlett.
27	Asher Tyle-	Elmira.	G. G. Harrower.
	E. D. Loveridge	Cuba.	A. B. Hull.
28	Dan. H. Cole	Albion.	H. H. Sperry.
	John Van Voorhies	Rochester.	A. M. Ives.
29	Harry Wilbur	Batavia.	A. W. Haskell.
	Hiram Gardner	Lockport.	M. C. Richardson.
30	Rufus Wheeler	Buffalo.	Jacob Beyer.
	O. J. Green	Buffalo.	J. B. Youngs.
31	Henry Van Aernum	Franklinville.	John Manley.
	Geo. W. Patterson	Westfield.	O. E. Jones.

NEW JERSEY.

Delegates at Large.

Wm. A. Newell	Allentown.	G. D. Horner.
Marcus L. Ward	Newark.	Benj. Buckley.
Joseph T. Crowell	Rahway.	John Chetwood.
James M. Scovell	Camden.	P. C. Brink.

Delegates.

1	Edward Bettle	Camden.	Joseph L. Reeve.
	T. Paulding	Pittsgrove, Salem Co.	J. F. Leaming.
2	W. F. Brown	Point Pleasant, Ocean Co.	D. L. Wilbur.
	S. A. Dobbins	Mount Holley.	A. B. Dayton
3	John J. Blair	Belvidere.	Moses F. Webb.
	A. D. Hope	Somerville.	E. R. Bullock.
4	Joseph Coult	Newton.	C. H. Voorhees.
	Socrates Tuttle	Paterson.	Richard Speer.
5	Charles R. Waugh	Newark.	Walter Rutherford.
	Benj. G. Clark	Jersey City.	Cornelius Walsh.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Delegates at Large.

Simon Cameron	Harrisburg.
A. K. McClure	Chambersburg.
W. W. Ketchum	Wilkesbarre.
M. B. Lowry	Erie.

Delegates.

1	A. B. Slonaker	Philadelphia.	James Gillingham.
	Eliot Ward	"	John M. Butler.
2	Peter C. Ellmaker	"	John Thompson.
	John Holmes	"	Isaac Colesbury.
3	J. M. Fox	"	John G. Clothler.
	William Andrews.	"	Amos Knight.
4	C. A. Walborn	"	Henry Carey Lea.
	Charles Thompson		Geo. S. Keyser.
5	Stephen H. Phillips.		
	J. G. Hurd.		
6	Daniel O. Hitner	Norristown.	Wm. Mintzer.
	John H. Oliver	Allentown.	E. J. More.
7	William E. Barber.		
	H. Jones Brooke	Media.	Joshua P. Eyre.
8	Levi B. Smith	Reading.	W. M. Beard.
	Edward Brooke	Birdsboro.	Wm. Trexler.

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9	Thaddeus Stevens	Lancaster.	
	Thomas E. Franklin	Lancaster.	
10	James H. Campbell	Pottsville.	
	G. Dawson Coleman	Lebanon.	
11	Andrew H. Reeder	Easton.	
	William Lilly	Maunch Chunk.	
12	Galusha A. Grow	Glenwood.	
	F. T. Atherton	Wilkesbarre.	
13	B. F. Powell	Towanda.	
	P. John	Bloomsburg.	
14	George Bergner	Harrisburg.	
	John B. Packer	Sunbury.	
15	Thomas E. Cochran	York.	David E. Small.
	Levi Kauffman	Mechanicsburg.	A. K Rheem.
16	John Stewart	Chambersburg.	E. G. Fahnestock.
	Edward Scull	Somerset.	Geo. W. Rupp.
17	R. B. Wigton	Huntingdon.	
	J. E. Chandler	Johnstown.	
18	Henry Johnson	Murray, Lycoming Co.	
	S. F. Wilson	Wellesboro', Tioga Co.	
19	Joseph Henderson	Brookville.	
	William Dunsmuis	Erie.	
20	David V. Derrickson	Meadville.	
	L. J. Rogers	Franklin.	
21	Wm. R. Spear	Blairsville, Indiana Co	
	Cyrus P. Markle	West Newton.	
22	A. M. Brown	Pittsburg.	
	Wm. B. Negley	"	
23	S. A Purviance	"	
	A. Reynolds	Kittanning.	
24	Jas. A. J. Buchanan	Waynesboro'.	
	W. W. Irvin	New Brighton.	

DELAWARE.

Delegates.

Edward G. Bradford	Wilmington.
George Z. Tybout	Red Lion, N. C. Co.
William Cummins	Smyrna, Kent Co.
Nathaniel B. Smithers	Dover, Kent Co.
Jacob Moore	Georgetown, Sussex.
Benjamin Burton	Hillsboro', Sussex.

MARYLAND.

Delegates at Large.

H. H. Goldsborough	Easton.
Henry W. Hoffman	Baltimore.
John A. J. Creswell	Elkton.
Albert C. Green	Frostburg.

Delegates.

1	W. J. Leonard	Berlin.
	L. E. Staughn	Cambridge.
2	Joseph J. Stewart	Townsonton.
	E. M. Allen	Darlington.
3	Archibald Sterling	Baltimore.
	Hugh L. Bond	"
4	Frederick A. Schley	Frederick.
	Isaac Nesbitt	Hagerstown.
5	John C. Holland	Cantonsville'
	W. L. W. Seabrook	Annapolis.

OHIO.

Delegates at Large.

Wm. Dennison	Columbus.	D. D. Shryrock.
David Tod	Youngstown.	G. B. Senter.
Columbus Delano	Mt. Vernon.	D. S. Shorter.
G. Volney Dorsey	Columbus.	Joseph Landon.

Delegates.

1	N. A. Jacobi	Cincinnati.	
	A. F. Perry	"	
2	S. F. Cary	"	J. O. Baum.
	M. P. Gaddis	"	L. A. Harris.
3	Geo. R. Sage	Lebanon.	Warren Munger, Jr.
	L. Dunham	Eaton.	
4	W. A. Weston	Greenville.	
	E. P. Fyffe	Urbana.	

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5	J. D. Clark	Van Wert.	
	C. Parmenter	Lima.	
6	Chambers Baird	Georgetown.	
	W. R. Smith	Hillsborough.	
7	E. F. Drake	Xenia.	W. T. Bascum.
	A. B. Buttles	Columbus	A. Toland.
8	P. R. Cole	Marysville.	
	H C. Hedges	Mansfield.	

Delegates.

9	L. Q. Rawson	Fremont.	C. Foster.
	L. G. Harkness	Norwalk.	— Sanders.
10	Geo. William	Perrysburgh.	
	D. W. H. Howard	Wauseon.	
11	Geo. A. Waller	Portsmouth.	
	Wm. Ellison	West Union.	
12	John A. Hunter	Lancaster.	
	Daniel Kilgore	Waverly.	
13	John C. Devin	Mt. Vernon.	
	E. E. Evans	Zanesville.	
14	Smith Orr	Wooster.	
	H. G. Blake	Medina.	
15	Jos. Kessinger	Athens.	
	Ed. Archbold	Woodsfield.	
16	Chas. Hare	Caldwell.	
	Isaac Morton	Cambridge.	
17	L. W. Potter	New Lisbon.	Kent Jarvis.
	Robert Sherrard	Steubenville.	J. H. Tripp.
18	W. H. Upson	Akron.	John Johnson.
	D. R. Tilden	Cleveland.	Peter Thatcher.
19	M. C. Canfield	Chardon.	
	F. Kinsman	Warren.	

INDIANA.

Delegates at Large.

Daniel Mace	Lafayette.	
James L. Yater	Versailles.	
John Beard	Crawfordsville.	
Isaac Jenkinson	Fort Wayne.	

Delegates.

1	L. Q. De Bruler	Rockport.	Victor Bisch.
	C. M. Allen	Vincennes.	John E. Mann.
2	Jesse J. Brown	New Albany.	C. H. Mason.
	H. Woodbury	Leavenworth.	D. W. La Follett.
3	W. M. Dunn	Madison.	T. M. Adams.
	Geo. A. Buskirk	Bloomington.	Smith Yawter.
4	Wilson Morrow		W. A. Cullen.
	John Ferris	Lawrenceburg.	James Berkshire.
5	Miles Murphy	Newcastle.	Silas Colgrove.
	Benjamin F. Miller	Liberty.	John F. Kibby.
6	John W. Ray	Indianapolis.	P. Foley.
	Levi Ritter	Danville.	J. B. McFadden.
7	Dr. Stevenson	Green Castle.	J. M. Hinkle.
	Ezra Reed	Terre Haute.	D. C. Stankard.
8	D. P. Vinton	Lafayette.	
	Lewis B. Simms	Delphi.	
9	J. M. Reynolds	St. Joseph.	J. D. Turner.
	D. R. Bearss	Peru.	J. M. Justice.
10	Isaac Jenkinson	Fort Wayne.	W. M. Clap.
	James S. Collins	Columbia City.	C. W. Chapman.
11	John L. Wilson	Bluffton.	J. M. Haynes.
	Daniel L. Brown	Noblesville.	T. C. Phillips.

IOWA.

Delegates at Large.

W. M. Stone	Des Moines.	J. H. Rotherock.
J. T. Clark	New Oregon.	J. R. Needham.
Francis Springer	Wapello.	J. W. Bell
D. D. Chase	Webster City.	Benj. Crabbe.

Delegates.

1	G. W. McCrarey	Keokuk.	A. H. C. Scott.
	D. P. Stubbs	Fairfield.	G. W. Edwards.
2	D. W. Ellis	Clinton.	Chas. Oberman.
	John S. Stacy	Anamosa.	John W. Earl.
3	J. S. Woodward	Independence.	J. M. Brayton.
	G. Kerndt	Dutlanburg.	J. Nicholas.
4	D. G. Worden	Signory.	J. N. Allen.
	J. M. Hendrick	Ottawa.	N. Udell.

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5	Cole Noel	Adel.	J. Street.
	Frank Street	Council Bluff.	Charles Henton.
6	G. M. Woodbury	Marshalltown.	F. G. Woodruff.
	P. Melendy	Onawa	A. Olener.

ILLINOIS.

Delegates at Large.

B. C. Cook	Ottawa.	G. W. Gage.
Leonard Swett	Bloomington.	John F. Rosette.
J. A. Powell	Peoria.	Chas. Atkinson.
A. H. Burley.		Isaac Miller.

Delegates.

1	J. Y. Scammon.	Chicago.	C. N. Holden.
	Lorenz Brentano	Chicago.	E. S. Isham.
2	Geo. S. Bangs	Aurora.	D. B. James.
	E. P. Ferry	Waukegan.	J. S. Hildreth.
3	J. W. Shaffer	Freeport.	Joseph Utley.
	James McCoy	Fulton City.	Henry A. Mills.
4	Harrison Dills.		James Stark.
	Solon Burroughs.		Robert Moir.
	H. P. Royce.		W. S. Wiley.
5	Clark E. Carr	Princeton.	Geo. Henderson.
6	Joseph L. Braden.		J. P. Southworth.
	W. Bushnell.		E. A. Lake.
7	G. W. Reeves.		John Cunningham.
	James Cone.		J. Bold.
8	R. H. Fell.		R. D. Cassell.
	J. M. Brown		J. T. Jenkins.
9	W. A. Grimshaw.		A. E. Babcock.
	W. B. Green.		W. K. Ray.
10	J. L. Morrison.		B. Sammons.
	J. T. Alexander.		David Pearson.
11	W. H. Robinson.		J. W. Welshear.
	D. T. M. Sams.		S. P. Tufts.
12	John Thomas.		A. W. Metcalf.
	William Copp.		John Stehr
13	L. Rhodes.		J. C. Barbour.
	Morris P. Brown.		John Wheeler.

MINNESOTA.

Delegates at Large.

Thos. Simpson	Winona.	Thos. N. Armstrong.
W. G. Butler	Clear Water.	Z. M. Mitchell.
Daniel Cameron	La Crescent.	Geo. F. Potter.
Charles M. Dally	St. Paul.	Andrew R. Kieffer.

Delegates.

1	Charles Taylor	Faribault.	George Watson.
	John McCusick	Stillwater.	R. Blakeley.
2	D. G. Shillock	New Ulm.	E. B. Freeman.
	Warren Bristol	Red Wing.	Eli Robinson.

KANSAS.

Delegates at Large.

J. H. Lane	Lawrence.
A. H. Insley.	
A. C. Wilder	Lawrence.
F. W. Potter.	

Delegates

T. M. Bowen.
M. W. Delahey.

MICHIGAN.

Delegates at Large.

Austin Blair	Jackson.	Emmons Buell.
Marsh Giddings	Kalamazoo.	Perry Hannah.
Nell Gray	Romeo.	Perley Bills.
C. W. Clisbee	Blumfield.	D. C. Gage.

Delegates.

1	H. Kiefer	Detroit.	W. R. Noyes.
	Wm. R. Noyes	Detroit.	E. Dorch.
2	L. P. Alexander	Buchanan.	B. F. Frankenberg.
	J. H. Kelsey	Three Rivers.	D. Monroe.
3	C. T. Gorham	Marshall.	Eugene Pringle.
	E. Lawrence	Ann Arbor.	Henry A. Shaw.
4	Osmond Tower	Ionia.	James A. Sweezey.
	W. I. Cornwell	Newaygo.	A. X. Carey.

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5	Charles Draper	Pontiac.	J. P. Bingham.
	O. D. Conger	Port Huron.	James Turrill.
6	J. B. Walker	Flint.	D. G. Slafter.
	R. Sheldon	Houghton.	J. W. Edwards.

WISCONSIN.

Delegates at Large.

Edward Saloman	Milwaukee.	O. H. Waldo.
A. W. Randall	Washington. D. C.	A. G. G. Darwin.
Angus Cameron	La Crosse.	Carson Graham.
Stoddard Judd.	Fox Lake.	E. H. Galloway.

Delegates.

1	John F. Potter	Montreal, Canada.	E. M. Danforth.
	C. C. Sholes	Kenosha.	J. M. Bundy.
2	J. F. Moak	Watertown.	J. M. Bingham.
	J. B. Cassoday	Janesville.	S. J. Todd
3	S. S. Wilkinson	Baraboo.	W. R. Beach.
	J. A. Bingham	Monroe.	J. H. Vivian.
4	L. H. Carey	Sheboygan.	L. Frost.
	J. M. Gillet	Fon du Lac.	G. S. Graves
5	P. Sawyer	Oshkosh.	C. B. Goodwin.
	M. L. Kimball	Berlin.	H. Briggs.
6	L. E. Webb.		C. B. Cox.
	C. C. Pope	Black River Falls.	G. E. Foster.

MISSOURI.

Delegates at Large.

Chauncey I. Filley	St. Louis.	
Benj. F. Loan	St. Joseph.	
C. D. Drake	St. Louis.	
J. F. Benjamin	St. Louis.	

Delegates.

1	George K. Budd	St. Louis.	George Babcock.
	J. W. Parish	St. Louis.	Enos Clark.
2	John F. Hume	St. Louis.	D. Q. Gale.
	H. T. Blow	St Louis.	A. Valle.
3	A. M Jackson		James Lindsay.
	James Lindsay		G. W. Wheeler.
4	S. H. Boyd	Springfield.	J. B. Clark, Jr.
	John B. Clark, Jr	Jefferson City.	S. H. Boyd.
5	J. W. McClurg.		J. T. Mack.
	A. C. Widdecombe	Boonville.	
6	R. T. Van Horn	Kansas City.	F. Cooley.
	A. Holcomb	Kansas City.	George Smith.
7	J. A. G. Barker	St. Joseph.	J. S. K. Hayward.
	A. J. Holland	Savannah.	E. A. Katzer.
8	A. L. Gilstrap	Macon City.	M. L. Harrigher.
	C. H. Howe	Macon City.	J. H. Ellis.
9	Wallis Lovelace.		W. B. Adams.
	I. J. Staubler.		J. H. Wadsworth.

KENTUCKY.

Delegates at Large.

R. J. Breckinridge	Danville.	S. F. Swope.
Samuel Lusk.		George Dewny.
R. K. Williams	Mayfield.	Lucian Anderson.
F. Bristow.	Elkton.	James Weir.

Delegates.

1	L. Anderson	Paducah.	J. W. Finney.
	J. Bollinger	Paducah.	Col. Henry.
2	William Davenport.		C. Maxwell.
	H. C. Burges.		Q. C. Shanks.

Delegates.

3	George D. Blakely	Bowling Green.	Joseph R. Glover.
	J. W. Calvert	Bowling Green.	Richard Vance.
4	George White	Elizabethtown.	J. M. Fiddler.
	R. L. Wintersmith.		T. Q. Walker.
5	A. B. Temple.		R. Ayres.
	James Speed	Louisville.	Edwin Bryant.
6	Green Clay Smith	Covington.	C. A. Preston.
	William Trimble.		J. C. Record.
7	J. A. Prall	Paris.	S. S. Goodloe.
	A. G. Hodges	Frankfort.	Milton Stevenson.

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8	J. W. Coperton.	J. G. Pond.
	W. B. Anderson.	W. H. Randall.
9	D. E. Roberts.	P. S. Layton.
	J. J. Anderson.	John Seaton

CALIFORNIA.

Delegates at Large.

Thompson Campbell	San Francisco.	
John Bidwell	Chico.	David Mahoney.
M. C. Briggs	Sacramento City.	Samuel Brannan.
A. S. Randall	Albion, N. Y.	John S. Newell.

Delegates.

1	James Otis	San Francisco.	W. H. Culver.
	W. S. McMurtry	San Jose.	A. P. Jourdan.
2	O. H. Bradbury	Janestown.	C. P. Huntington.
	William Ritter	Sacramento City.	C. C. Rynerson.
3	Nathan Coombs	Sacramento City.	A. G. Snyder.
	Robert Gardner	Sacramento City.	A. W. Thompson.

OREGON.

Delegates at Large.

T. H. Pearne	Portland.
Hiram Smith	Harrisburg.
F. A. Charman	Oregon City.
Josiah Failing	Portland.
J. W. Southworth	Corvallis.
M. Hirsch	Salem.

NOTE.

There are no alternates elected from this State, and all of the delegates are elected at large, there being but one district in the State.

NEBRASKA.

Delegates at Large.

John I. Redick	Omaha City.
B. F. Lushbaugh	Omaha City.
D. H. Wheeler	Plattsmouth.
W. H. H. Waters	Nebraska City.
A. S. Paddock	Omaha City.
S. G. Dailey	Brownsville.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Delegates at Large.

Lewis Clephane	Washington.	William P. Wood.
J. R. Elvans	Washington.	Henry Ulke.

Contestants.

Joseph J. Coombs.	Asbury Lloyd.
Noble D. Larner.	Joseph F. Hodgson.

DAKOTA.

Delegate at Large.

William E. Gleason. George M. Pinney.

COLORADO.

Delegates at Large.

John A. Nye	Denver City.
S. S. Curtis	Denver City.
S. H. Ebert	Denver City.
J. B. Chaffee	Central City.
Edward Brown	Central City.

NEW MEXICO.

Delegates at Large.

Francisco Perea	Taos.
John S. Watts	Santa Fe.
Joshua Jones, Jr	Port Union.

WASHINGTON.

Delegate at Large.

Hugh A. Goldsborough ..... Washington, D. C.

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INDEX.

Page

Adams, Charles Francis, of Massachusetts, remarks of, 1856 48
Adjournment, sine die, 1856 82
Sine die, 1860 169
Sine die, 1864 247
Allison, Hon. John, of Pennsylvania, remarks of, 1856 59–62
Proposing Abraham Lincoln as a candidate for Vice-President, 1856 61
Andrew, Hon. John A. of Massachusetts, endorsing Lincoln's nomination, 1860 156
Armour, Charles, Lee, Maryland, remarks by, 1860 ..... 113, 116, 147
Army, news from 235
Ashmun, Hon. George, Massachusetts, elected permanent president, 1860 101
Remarks by 101
Remark accepting gavel 104
Resolution of, thanks to, 1860 168
Valedictory address of, 1860 168
Ballot, formal, for President, 1856 58
First, for President, 1860 149
Second, for President, 1860 152
Third, for President, 1860 153
For President, 1864 234
First, for Vice-President, 1864 240
Second, for Vice-President, 1864 242
Baltimore, thanks to City Councils of 1864 247
Banks, Nathaniel P., of Massachusetts, vote received for President, 1856 53
Vote received for Vice-President, 1856 53
Withdrawal of 64
Proposed for Vice-President, 1860 160
Vote received for Vice-President, 1860 160
Bates, Edward, proposed for President, 1860 148
Vote received for President, 1860 ..... 149, 152, 153
Benning, Henry, Chairman, communication from, in behalf of working men, 1860 144
Benton, Jacob, New Hampshire, remarks by, 1860 146
Blair, Austin, Michigan, endorsing Lincoln's nomination, 1860 157
Seconding nomination of Wm. H. Seward, 1860 148
Blair, Frank P., Missouri, nominating Edward Bates for President, 1860 148
Blair, Montgomery, Maryland, remarks by, 1860 118
Remarks by on additional credentials, from Maryland, 1860 145
Blakey, Kentucky, remarks by, 1856 80
Blow, Henry T., Missouri, temporary Secretary, 1860 87
Boutwell, Geo. S., Massachusetts, remarks by, 1860 94
Brandazee, A., Connecticut, remarks by, 1864 ..... 185 208
Remarks by, on Missouri case, 1864 209
Branes, Rev. Albert, prayer by, 1856 21
Breckinridge, Hon. Robert J., of Kentucky, chosen temporary President, 1864. 177
Acceptance speech of, 1864 ..... 177 181
Remarks by, 1864, on Missouri case 210
Brownlow, Rev. W. G., "Parson," Tennessee, speech by, 1864 188-9
Browning, O. H., Illinois, response by, relative to Lincoln's nomination, 1860 .. 159

Digitized by Google

Page
Buckland, Maine, remarks by, 1860 121
Business, Order of, report of Committee on, 1856 27
Order of, Committee on, 1860 89
Order of, report of Committee on, 1860 109
Order of and Rules, report of Committee on, 1860 125
Order of and Rules, adoption of report of Committee on, 1860 129
Order of, appointment as Committee on, 1864 197
Order of and Rules, report of Committee on, 1864 201
Burnside, Gen. Ambrose E., vote received for Vice President by, 1864 240
Butler, Benjamin F., vote received for Vice President by 240
Call, the first preliminary, 1856 7
For first nominating Convention 14
California, acknowledgement of nomination of Fremont by, 1856 68
Cameron, General Simon, proposed for President, 1860 148
Vote of for President, 1860 149-152
Withdrawal of, 1860 152
Remarks by, 1864 ..... 183-184 186
Resolution by relative to nomination of President and Vice President, 1864 227
Campbell, Thompson, California, remarks by, 1864 184
Carey, Henry C., vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Carpenter, Hiram, Vermont, remarks by, 1856 76
Cartter, D. K., Ohio, remarks by, 1860 92
Remarks of, on platform, 1860 136
Nominating Salmon P. Chase for President, 1860 148
Chandler, Zachariah, of Michigan, reading of dispatch from Detroit by, 1856 69
Chandler, L. H., Virginia, remarks by, 1864 ..... 100, 101, 102
Chase, Salmon P., letter of, withdrawing as a candidate for President, 1856 59
Proposed for President, 1860 148
Vote received for President, 1860 ..... 149, 152, 153
Chicago, invitation of Board of Trade of 1860 91
Clay, Cassius M., vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Vote received for President, 1860 ..... 152, 153
Proposed for Vice-President, 1860 160
Vote received for Vice-President, 1860 ..... 160, 161
Cleveland, Ex-Governor of Connecticut, remarks of, 1856 56
Remarks of, 1856 67
Remarks by, 1860 118
Coale, of Maryland, remarks by on Maryland credentials, 1860 145
Collamer, Jacob, of Vermont, vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Vote of for President 149
Colfax, Schuyler, vote received for Vice-President, 1864 240
Cook, R. C., Illinois, remarks by 227
Committee, Republican National, resolution by Dr. George Harris, of Maryland, to constitute, 1856 23
Republican National, 1856 42
National, members of 1860 166
National, 1864 242
Contested Seats, action on, 1864, laid over 187
Convention, call for the first, 1856 7
The Pittsburg Republican, 1856 7-13
The Pittsburg, organization of, 1856 10
Call for first nominating, 1856 14
Roll of Members of 1856 ..... 35, 42
National Young Men's, 1856 81
National Republican, at Philadelphia, 1856 15-82
At Chicago, 1860 83-174

Digitized by Google

Page
At Baltimore, 1864 175-255
Officers of, 1860 102
Roll of Members of, 1856 35-42
Roll of Members of, 1860 170-174
Union National, call of, 1864 175
Opening of 175
Roll of Members of 1864 248-256
Corwin, Thomas, remarks nominating John McLean for President, 1860 148
Crawford, M. S. C., of Texas, remarks of, 1860 121
Credentials, Committee on, 1856 21
Report of Committee on, 1856 27
Resolution relative to, 1860 88
Committee on, 1860 89
Discussion on, 1860 89-94
Report of Committee on, 1860 110
Report of the Committee on, recommitted, 1860 123
Adoption of Report of Committee on, 1860 124
Appointment of Committee on, 1864 193
Report of Committee on, 1864 203
Minority Report from Committee on, 1864 204
Amendments to Report of Committee on, 1864 ..... 208-216, 217-222
Creswell, J. A. J., Maryland, motion of, restricting rules, 1864 193
Curtis, George William, New York, remarks of, on platform, 1860 141
Remarks by, on Missouri case 112
Davis, Henry Winter, vote received for Vice-President, 1860 160
Dayton, William L., of New Jersey, proposed for Vice-President, 1856 60
Vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Changes of votes for, 1856 66
Nomination of, for Vice-President, 1856 66
Proposed for President, 1860 148
Vote of, for President, 1860 ..... 149, 152, 153
Vote for Vice President, 1860 160
Delano, Columbus, of Ohio, seconding nomination of Lincoln, 1860 149
Remarks and motion of, 1864 230
Delegates, motion as to, 1864 183-4-5
Missouri radical admitted, 1864 216
Roll of, 1864 248-256
Delegations, Chairmen of, roll of, 1864 201
Dennison, Hon. William, of Ohio, chosen permanent President, 1864 195
Acceptance speech by, on taking chair as permanent President, 1864 196-7
Remarks by on declaring Convention adjourned *sine die* 247
Detroit, salute of 100 guns by, 1856 69
Dickinson, Daniel S, proposed for Vice President, 1864 236
Vote received for Vice President by, 1864 240-242
Dorsey, G. Volney, Ohio, remarks by, 1864 211
Dorsheimer, Philip S., New York, remarks by, 1856 75
Drake, Hon. E. F., Ohio, report by from Committee on Rules, 1864 201
Dudley, New Jersey, nominating Wm. L. Dayton for President, 1860 148
Eggleston, Ben., Ohio, remarks by, 1860 95-122
Elder, Dr., of Pennsylvania, remarks of, 1856 47
Elliott, Thomas D., of Massachusetts, remarks of, 1856 56
Emmet, Hon. Robert, of New York, elected temporary President, Philadelphia, 1856 15
Speech, accepting the temporary Presidency 15-20
Resolution of thanks to, 1856 81
Evarts, William M., of New York, nominating William H. Seward for President, 1860 148

Digitized by Google

Page
Remarks of on motion to make nomination of Abraham Lincoln unanimous, 1860 155
Ewing, John H., Pennsylvania, remarks by, 1860 112
Fisher, John Adams, of Pennsylvania, remarks of proposing David Wilmot for Vice President, 1856 61
Fogg, George G., of New Hampshire, temporary Secretary, 1856 20
Ford, Gov. Thomas, of Ohio, withdrawal of, 1856 65
Vote received for Vice President 65
Fremont, Gen. John C., of California, vote received for President, 1856 53
Nominated for President, 1856 58
Vote received for President, 1860 149
Gaddis, Rev. M. P., prayer by, 1864 199
Gavel, presentation of, 1860 103
Gazzard, Mr., of Pennsylvania, remarks of, 1856 57
Giddings, Hon. Joshua R., Ohio, remarks of, 1856 ..... 53, 55
Vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Remarks by, 1860 98
Remarks of on platform, 1860 135
Resolution of 1860 165
Goodrich, Aaron, of Minnesota, remarks by 91
Remarks and resolutions of thanks of to Chicago, 1860 167
Grant, Ulysses S., vote received for President, 1864 ..... 232, 234
Greeley, Horace, daily and mail report of proceedings of Preliminary Convention, 1856 ..... 8, 13
Greeley, Horace, of Oregon, remarks by, 1860 89
Green, Rev. M., prayer by, 1860 143
Grimm, editor Belleville Zeitung, remarks of, 1856 99
Grinnell, Moses H., of New York, remarks of, 1856 51
Hacklemann, P. A., Indiana, remarks of, 1860 121
Hale, John P., New Hampshire, remarks by, 1856 ..... 72, 74
Hamlin, Hannibal, proposed for Vice-President, 1860 160
Vote received for Vice-President, 1860 ..... 160, 161
Nomination of for Vice-President, 1860 162
Resolution relative to nomination of, 1864 227
Proposed for Vice-President, 1864 236
Vote received for Vice-President 240, 242
Hanks, Arkansas, remarks by, 1864 189
Hassaureck, Fred., Ohio, temporary Secretary, 1860 87
Remarks of, on platform, 1860 139
Hickman, John, proposed for Vice-President, 1860 160
Vote of, Vice President, 1860 160-61
Hoadley, Judge, Ohio, Remarks by, 1856 77
Hoar, E. R., Judge, of Massachusetts, Remarks of, 1856 57
Hood, Rev. Anson, Prayer by, 1856 35
Hume, J. F., Missouri, Remarks of 232
Humphrey, Rev. Z., Prayer by, 1860 87
Invitation from Chicago Board of Trade, 1860 91
Report on 99
From Ellsworth's Zouave Guards, 1860 106
From Chicago & Rock Island Railroad, 1860 108
From Galena & Chicago Union Railroad, 1860 144
Acceptance of, 1860 167
1864 247
James, Remarks of on Rules, 1860 128
Jay, W., of New Jersey, Remarks of, 1856 61
Johnson, Andrew, Proposed for Vice President, 1864 236
Vote Received for Vice President, 1864 240-42

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Page
Nomination of for Vice President, 1864 242
Johnson, Whitfield S., vote received for Vice President, 1856 63
Judd, Hon. Norman B., elected Secretary National Committee, 1856 42
Norman B., Illinois, remarks by, 1860 95
Remarks by, on presenting a gavel 103
Nominating Abraham Lincoln for President, 1860 148
Kelley, Wm. D., Pennsylvania, remarks by, 1860 96
Remarks of, on rules, 1860 127
Kent, Gov., of Maine, resolution to amend Seeley's resolution and remarks of, 47
Remarks by, 1856 77
Kimball, F. D., of Ohio, resolution of, relative to permanent organization, 1856, 22
King, John A., of New York, vote received for Vice President, 1856 63
Remarks by, 1856 75
King, Preston, New York, remarks by, 1860 97
Report of Committee on Credentials, made by, 1864 203
Remarks by, 1864 ..... 204, 206, 207, 208
King, amendments proposed by, 1864 ..... 206-208, 216, 217-222
Lane, Col. Henry S., of Indiana, elected permanent president, 1856 24
Speech of, accepting permanent presidency of Convention, 1856 25-27
Resolution of thanks to, 1856 82
Remarks of, pledging Indiana to Lincoln and Hamlin, 1860 166
Lane, J. H., Kansas, amendment by, 1864 187
Remarks by, 1864 188-192
Minority report on Credentials read by, 1864 205
Law, George, communication of, from National American Convention 52
Leigh, Charles C., of New York, resolution relative to Young Men's National Convention 60
Lincoln, Abraham, of Illinois, named for Vice-President by John Allison, 1856 61
Vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Withdrawal of, 1856 65
Proposed for President, 1860 148
Vote received for President, 1860 ..... 149-152, 153
Resolution relative to nomination of, 1864 227
Vote received for President, 1864 234
Nominated for President, 1864 234
Littlejohn, DeWitt C., resolution of, relative to Law communication 52
Remarks of, 1856 56
Logan, John A., proposing three cheers for all the candidates of the Republican party, 1860 149
Lovejoy, Owen, of Illinois, prayer by, 1856 7
Remarks by 20, 31, 57
Mann, Wm. B., Pennsylvania, remarks of, 1860 129
Mass Meeting, Pittsburg 12-13
Maynard, Horace, Tennessee, remarks by, 1864 188
Remarks by, on admission of delegates from Tennessee, 1864 221
Remarks of, proposing Andrew Johnson for Vice-President, 1864 236
McClure, A. K., report of Committee on Permanent Organization by, 1864 195
McLean, John, Judge, of Ohio, letter of withdrawal as a candidate for President, 1856 49
Withdrawal as a candidate for President withdrawn, 1856 53
Vote received for President, 1856 53
Vote of, for President, 1860 149-152-153
McCrillis, of Maine, remarks by, 1860 121
Remarks responding to nomination of Hamlin, 1860 163-4
Minority, reports by, from Committee on Credentials, 1864 204-205
Missouri case 208-216
Mitchell, Thomas G., of Ohio, temporary Secretary 20
Morgan, Hon. Edwin D., of New York, address at opening of Philadelphia, 1856 15

Digitized by Google

Page
Elected Chairman National Committee, 1856 42
Opening address of 1860 83
Opening address of, Baltimore Convention, 1864 176
Morrill, Hon. Lot M., of Maine, remarks by, 1864 183-4
National American Convention, communications from, 1856 52
National American Convention, report on, 1856 61
North, John W., Minnesota seconding nomination of Seward, 1860 149
Notification, Committee of, 1856 67
Committee of, 1860 165
Order, decision by the Chair upon question of 96
Officers, thanks to 246
Oregon, election in, news of 236
Organization, earliest of record, 1855 3
Washington Republican, 1855 3-6
Resolutions relative to permanent, 1856 22
Committee on permanent, 1856 22
Report of Committee on permanent, 1856 24
Permanent, resolution relative to, 1860 87
Permanent, Committee on, 1860 88
Permanent, report of Committee on, 1860 101
Temporary, 1864 181
Permanent, Committee on, 1864 194
Permanent, report of Committee on, 1864 195
Oyler, S. P., Indiana, remarks by, 1860 94-119
Palmer, John M., of Illinois, remarks of, 1856 62
Patten, Rev. W. W., prayer by, 1860 107
Patterson, Geo. W., New York, remarks by, 1864 184
Pennsylvania National Republican Party of, communication from, 1856 62
Pennington, Aaron S, vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Philadelphia, resolution of thanks to citizens of, 1856 82
Phillips, Wm. A., Kansas, remarks by, 1860 215
Seconding nomination of Seward, 1860 149
Platform, committee on, 1856 22
Proposed amendments to, 1856 45
National Republican, 1856 ..... 43, 45
Resolution relative to, 1860 103
Committee on, 1860 105
Report of committee on, 1860 130
Amendments of, 1860 ..... 133, 142
And resolutions, committee on, 1864 194
And resolutions, report of committee on, and adoption of, 1864 ..... 225, 226, 227
Pomeroy, Samuel C., vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Remarks by, 1856 80
Pomeroy, Theodore, New York, temporary Secretary, 1860 87
Pratt, Daniel D., Reading Secretary, thanks to, 1860 168
Proceedings, resolution authorizing 2
Publication of resolution relative to, 1864 246
Raymond, Henry J., of New York, remarks by, 1864 ..... 185, 186
Report of Committee on Resolutions, by, 1864 225
Reeder, Andrew H., of Pennsylvania, remarks by, 1860 ..... 92, 93, 120
Remarks by, 1864 ..... 192, 207
Remarks, nominating Simon Cameron for President, 1860 148
Proposed for Vice-President, 1860 160
Vote of, for Vice President, 1860 160
Reiley, Rev. McKendree, prayer by, 1864 181
Report, minority, on order of business, 1860 109

Digitized by Google

Page
Republican movement, circular to friends of 4
Rousseau, Gen. L. H., proposed for Vice-President, 1864 236
Vote received for Vice-President by, 1864 240
Rules, Report of Committee on, 1856 27
And business, 1860 89
Adoption of, House of Representatives, 1864 193
Appointment of Committee on permanent, 1864 197
Report of Committee on, 1864 201
Sargent, A. A. California, remarks by, on Maryland credentials, 1860 145
Schneider, Editor, remarks of, 1856 67
Schurz, Carl, of Wisconsin, remarks of, on platform, 1860 138
Seconding nomination of Wm. H. Seward, 1860 149
Endorsing Lincoln's nomination, 1860 157
Secretaries, permanent, 1856 24
Temporary, 1860 87
List of, 1864 195
Secretary, instructions of, to print proceedings 246
Seeley, John E., of New York, resolution relative to informal vote for President, 1856 45-49
Seward, Hon. William H., vote of, for President, 1856 53
Proposed for President, 1860 148
Vote of, for President, 1860 ..... 149-152, 153
Sherwood, Lyman, of New York, remarks of, 1856 57
Sholes, C. C., Wisconsin, remarks by, 1864 207
Smith, Hon. Caleb B., of Indiana, remarks of, 1856 28
Seconding Lincoln's nomination, 1860 148
Remarks endorsing nomination of Hamlin, 1860 162
Smith, E. D., South Carolina, remarks by 224
Spaulding, Judge, of Ohio, withdrawal by of Judge McLean's letter of withdrawal, 1856 53
Stanton, Edwin M., despatches from 235
Stevens, Thaddeus, of Pennsylvania, remarks of, 1856 51
Motion relative to contested seats by, 1864 187
Remarks by on Missouri case, 1864 215
Stone, A. P., of Ohio, resolution relative to credentials, 1856 21
Resolution by, 1856 72
Seconding the nomination of Lincoln, 1860 149
Stone, Wm. M., Iowa, motion and remarks of, 1864 ..... 227, 228, 229
Sumner, Charles, Hon., of Massachusetts, vote received for President, 1856 53
Vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Withdrawal of, 1856 64
Vote of for President, 1860 149
Sweetser, Theodore H., Massachusetts, remarks by, 1860 95
Swett, Leonard, Illinois, remarks by, on nomination of Lincoln, 1864 234
Tennessee, delegation from admitted 220
Territories, delegates from, 1864 193
Report of Committee of Credentials on, 1864 223
Right to vote of, 1864 243
Tarr, Campbell, West Virginia, remarks by .....
Test, Judge, Illinois, remarks by, 1856 77
Thanks, resolution of, to Vice Presidents and Secretaries, 1860 168
To President, Vice President and Secretaries, 1856 82
To officers of Convention, 1864 246
To City Council of Baltimore 247
Thayer, Eli, Oregon, remarks by 93
Tremaine, Lyman, of New York, remarks of, proposing Daniel S. Dickinson for Vice President, 1864 237

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Page
Tyler, Judge, Connecticut, 1856 79
Underwood, Virginia, remarks by 1856 80
VanDyke, J., of New Jersey, remarks by, 1856 69
Viele, John J., of New York, resolution relative to Free Soil Democracy of New York 25
Vice-Presidents, permanent, 1856 24
Vice-President, informal ballot for, 1856 63
Formal vote for, 1856 65
First ballot for, 1860 160
Second ballot for, 1860 161
Result of balloting for, 1860 162
Announcement of nomination of Hannibal Hamlin for, 1860 162
Vice-Presidents, list of, 1864 195
Vice-President, vote received by all candidates for, 1864 240
Nomination of, 1864 ..... 240, 242
Virginia, report of committee on credentials in 224
Vote, announcement of for President, 1856 58
Votes, changing of, for President, 1860 ..... 153, 154, 155
Changes of for Vice-President, 1864 ..... 240, 242
Voting, ratio of, resolution relative to 168
Wade, Benjamin, vote of for President, 1860 149
Webb, Gen. James Watson, of New York, remarks of 45, 54
Whelpley, Edward W., of New Jersey, resolution of to take informal ballot for Vice-President, 1856 60
Remarks of, naming Wm. L. Dayton, of New Jersey, for Vice-President, 1856 60
Wills, John A., of California, remarks of, 1856 68
Wilmot, Hon. David, of Pennsylvania, resolution relative to platform, 1856 21
Report of, of platform, 1856 43
Remarks of, 1856 55
Proposed for Vice-President, 1856 61
Vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Withdrawal of, 1856 64
Remarks by, 1856 79
Appointed temporary President, 1860 85
Remarks accepting temporary presidency, 1860 85
Remarks by, 1860 ..... 111, 115, 116
Remarks of, on platform, 1860 137
Wilson, Hon. Henry, of Massachusetts, remarks of, 1856 31-35
Vote received for Vice-President, 1856 63
Withdrawal of, 1856 65
Remarks by, 1856 ..... 77, 79
Workingmen, communication of, 1860 144
Wyse, James, District of Columbia, remarks by, 1860 113

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